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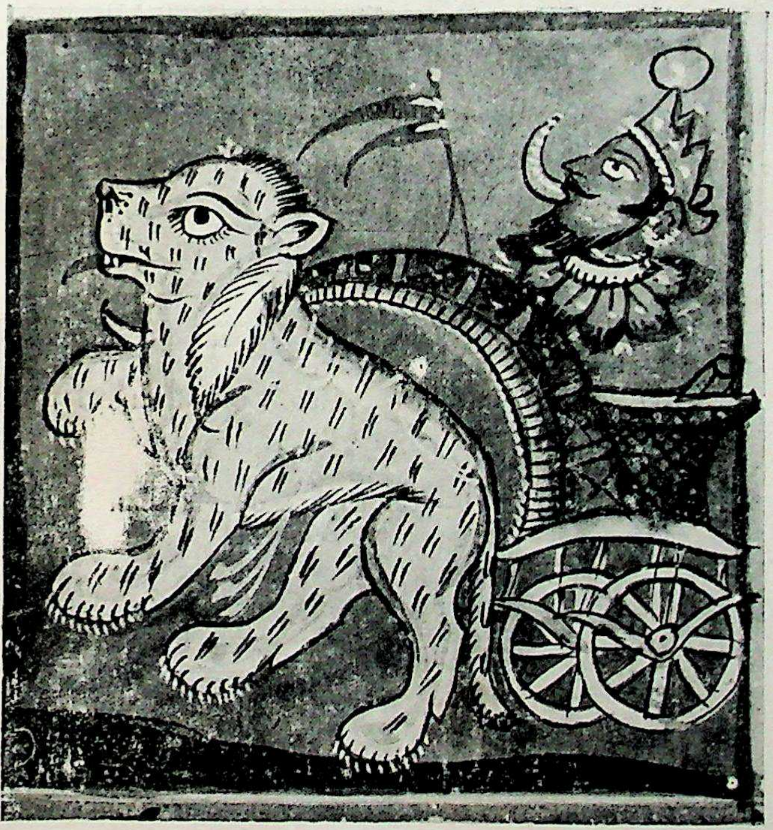

Fig 1
Rāhu

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CONTENTS

Word—Pairs in the Ṛgveda Maṇḍala-VII—S K. LAL 169

Parkinson's Third Law and the State of Development of Geometry as Given in Śulbasūtras—R. P KULKARNI 199

Sacred Thread : Origin and Development-II—MADHUSUDAN MISHRA 207

Ecology in Ancient India (A Note)—G. V. TAGARE 215

A Note on the Absence of Jātaka Themes in Early Western Indian Sculpture—MADHAVI J. ATHALYE 217

Mārkaṇḍeya, Māyā and the Infinite—R. T. VYAS 221

Maṇḍana on Avidyānivṛtti—RABINDRA KUMAR PANDA 229

The Hindu Adoptions Act—Ancient, Medieval and Modern—A Comparison—S. G. MOGHE 235

A Critical Note on Haṭhapradīpikā—M. L. GHAROTE 243

A Note on the Home of the Mauryas—APARNA CHATTOPADHYAY 249

Interpretation of the Vocable Kūṭikā—B. J. SANDESARA 253

Some Paintings of Rāhu and Ketu From Gujarat—STEPHAN HILLYER LEVITT 255

Flooding the World with Wealth : The King's Place in the Consecration Ritual of the Rajsagar Lake in Mewar—HARALD TAMBS-LYCHE 275

The Median Kaliṅga Script—SUBRATA KUMAR ACHARYA 293

Preservation of Paper Material—Introduction—R. P. SHAH and N. R. SHAH 301

Śakāra as Kāṇeli-Mātar—S. V. SOHONI 311

Select Contents of Oriental Journals—P. H. JOSHI 313

Obituary— 323

Reviews— 325

Acknowledgements— 343

M. S. University Oriental Series No. 17

Bibliography of the Pañcatantra and Allied Literature—by PACK CARNES 33 58

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WORD—PAIRS IN THE ṚGVEDA MAṆḌALA-VII

By

S. K. Lal*

The *Saṁhitā* of the *Ṛgveda* is essentially a book of poems beautifully composed in metrical and rhythmical forms. A study of the Ṛgvedic poetry shows that the poets of the *Ṛgveda* have evinced a keen desire in making their poems faultless, sublime, and lofty in thought and word. *Ṛṣi* Vasiṣṭha, the poet of the seventh *maṇḍala* has, in a few places, revealed his mind as to what type of poetry he wished to compose. He says that a poetry should be perfect (*akharvam*), intelligently composed (*sudhitam*), and having a beautiful form (*supeśasam*).[1] It should rise forth from the house of *Ṛta*,[2] and should please the divine beings.[3] In another place, he says that let the divine and brilliant poems go forth like a well-fashined chariot.[4] It is such a poem which holy beings, divine and earthly, are solicited to listen.[5]

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[1] *Mantram akharvaṁ sudhitaṁ supeśasaṁ dadhāta yajñiyeṣu ā* / 7.32.13

[2] *pra brahma etu sadanāt ṛtasya* / 7.36.1

[3] *ādityā rudrā vasavo juṣantedaṁ brahma kriyamāṇaṁ navīyaḥ* / 7.35.14

[4] *pra śukraitu devī manīṣā asmatsutaṣṭo ratho na vājī* / 7.34.1

[5] *śṛṇvantu no divyāḥ pārthivāsaḥ* / 7.35.14

The *Ṛṣi*-poets of the *Ṛgveda* must have had some kind of norms or devices to embellish and decorate their poetry in order to make it appealing and pleasing. The device of word-pairing seems to be one such norm. It is a unique device, and it is found in all the *maṇḍala*s.

The word-pairs have been caused in quite a number of ways. Some times, it has been noticed that there are certain word-pairs that are made up of nominal forms and verbal forms, both of them having been derived from one common root. At times, the word-pairs have been caused with the help of a common stem in both the derivations which have been derived from a common root. In other places, it is found that two substantives that have been derived from one and the same stem have been used in different cases (*kārakas*) forming a word-pair.

Many a time, it is noticed that one member, initial or final, of a two member word, is common in two or more substantives of the word-pair. Some times, a common stem is also found in them. Further, the word-pairs have also been effected with the help of opposites of one stem which is common in both of them. At times, it is found that some word-pairs are formed with the help of adjectives or epithets of divinities which have been derived from different roots/stems, all of them having identical meanings.

There are certain word-pairs as well as pair of sentences which are formed in such a way that one word of the pair enhances and enforces the meaning of the other word or sentence. Further, there are certain word-pairs which have dissimilar prefixes added to similar roots; and also conversely similar suffixes have been added to dissimilar words.

There is one word-pair in this *maṇḍala* which has been formed with one substantive and one verb. Both the words have been derived from two different roots, but the roots have identical meanings.

Although found only once, there is a peculiar word-pair in which both the members of the pair look exactly identical, yet they have been derived from two different roots.

These are some of the devices *Ṛṣi* Vasiṣṭha has used to form word-pairs in the seventh *maṇḍala*. This device of word-pairing is found in other *maṇḍalas* also. The purpose must have been to infuse sonant recitation of and rythm in the Vedic poetry.

We have collected in this paper word-pairs from the seventh *maṇḍala*. They have been grouped in different categories according to their nature and formation and studied individually. It is proposed to take up other *maṇḍalas* also for such a study.

I. One root : two or many substantives/verb forms :

It has been noticed that there are certain word-pairs that are made up of nominal forms and verbal forms both of them having been derived from one common root.

1. *acetat-cetantī* (95.2) :

ekācetat sarasvatī nadīnāṁ, śuciryatī giribhya ā samudrāt |
rāyaścetantī bhuvanasya bhūrer, ghṛtaṁ payo duduhe nāhuṣāya ||

[" The pure Sarasvatī alone among the rivers is known as one going from the mountains right up to the sea. Knowing the wealth of the vast world, she has milked out ghee and milk to man. "][6]

Both the words are derived from the root *cit* ' to know, to perceive '.

2. *acetayat-acitaḥ* (86.7 c) :

acetayadacito devo aryo . . . ||

[" The noble god (Varuṇa) has given wisdom to the ignorant. . .]

Here again, both the forms are derived from the root *cit* which is common in both of them.

3. *acetasaṁ-citayanti-sucetasam* (60.6) :

ime mitro varuṇo dūḷabhāso', cetasaṁ ciccitayanti dakṣaiḥ |
api kratuṁ sucetasaṁ vatantas, tiraścid aṁhaḥ supathā nayanti ||

[" These gods, Mitra, Varuṇa, (and Aryaman], who are difficult to deceive, make even an ignorant wise by their holy powers. Helping him to power with expert knowledge. . . "]

The substantives *acetasam* and *sucetasam* and the verbal form *citayanti* all the three are derived from the root *cit* which is common among them.

4. *añji-añjate* (57.3 d) :

. . . samānam añjy añjate śubhe kam ||

[" (These all—adorning Maruts, bestowing lovely hues on the two worlds), put on a common decoration indeed, for the sake of glory. "]

Both the words are derived from one common root *añj* ' to anoint '.

5. *arcanti-arkaiḥ* (23.6 b) :

. . . vasiṣṭhāso abhy arcanty arkaiḥ |

[" . . . The Vasiṣṭhas thus honour Indra . . . with their songs. "]

---

[6] The translation has been taken from H.D. Velankar's *Ṛgveda – Maṇḍala VII*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1963.

arcanti and *arkaiḥ* both have the root *arc* ' to sing, to praise ' common in them.

6. *avasā-avatam* (83.1 d) :

. . . sudāsam indrāvaruṇāvasāvatam //

[" . . . Protect Sudās, O Indra and Varuṇa, with your favour. "]

Both the words *avasā* and *avatam* have been derived from the root *av* ' to defend, to favour '.

7. *asādi-nṛṣadane* (7.5 ab) :

asādi vṛto vahnir ājaganvān, agnir brahmā nṛṣadane vidhartā /

[" Agni, who has arrived, has been seated at the seat of the heroes as our elected leader, high priest and disposer. "]

Both the words have been derived from the root *sad* ' to sit ' which is common in the verb *asādi* and the substantive *sadane* (of *nṛṣadane*).

8. *ādityāsaḥ-aditayaḥ* (52.1 ab) :

ādityāso aditayaḥ syāma, pūrdevatrā vasavo martyatrā /

[" May we be free from bonds (like) the Ādityas themselves. "]

ādityāsaḥ and *aditayaḥ* both the terms have been derived from the root *dā* ' to divide '.

9. *āsicam-siñcadhvam* (16.11 bc) :

Devo vo draviṇodāḥ, pūrṇāṁ vivaṣṭy āsicam /
ud vā siñcadhvam upa vā pṛṇadhvam . . . //

[" The divine giver of riches desires from us a full shower (of ghee). Pour it out completely or fill it full. "]

In this verse *āsicam* and *siñcadhvam* are derived from the root *sic* ' to pour out '.

10. *kratvā-kṛtaḥ-sukṛtaḥ-kartṛbhiḥ* (62.1 d) :

. . kratvā kṛtaḥ sukṛtaḥ kartṛbhir bhūt //

[" . . . . Being made with wisdom by his Makers, he is well made."]

All the above four words have been derived from one common root *kṛ* ' to do, to make.'

11. *kṣiyanti-sukṣitim* (74.6 d):

uta svena śavasā śūśuvur nara, uta kṣiyanti sukṣitim //

[" Those brave men. . . . have grown powerful by their own strength and lived in comfortable dwellings."]

The words *kṣiyanti* and *sukṣitim* are derived from the root *kṣi* ' to dwell.' Cf. also *kṣitiṣu kṣiyantaḥ* in 88.7 a.

12. *jātaḥ-jātaḥ-jāyate* (90.2 d):

. . . jāto jāto jāyate vājyasya //

[" .. Every son born from him is born powerful."]

The root *jan* ' to give birth, to be born ' is common in all the three words.

13. *jāyamānaḥ-janayan-jātavedaḥ* (5.7):

sa jāyamānaḥ parame vyoman, vāyur na pāthaḥ pari pāsi sadyaḥ /
tvaṁ bhuvanā janayann abhi kran apatyāya jātavedo daśasyan //

[" Being born in the highest heaven, such as you are, you immediately guard your dominion (*pāthas*), like Vāyu. Creating the beings, you roared by their side, thus helping the descendant (of men), O Jātavedas."]

All the above three words have been derived from the root *jan* ' to give birth, to be born ' which is common in them.

14. *dakṣāyyāya-dakṣata* (97.8 c):

dakṣāyyāya dakṣatā sakhāyaḥ .. //

[" Render pious service to him who deserves it, O friends."]

The root *dakṣ* ' to be piously active, to be able ' is seen in both the words *dakṣāyyāya and dakṣata.* (Cf. *dakṣāyyāḥ* in 1.2. c and *dakṣata* in 32. 9 a).

15. *dardṛhi-dardartu* (55.4 ab) :

tvaṁ sūkarasya dardṛhi, tava dardartu sūkaraḥ /

[" Tear you to pieces a hog or let the hog tear you away. "]

Both the verbal forms have been derived from the root *dṛ* ' to pierce, to split '.

16. *dipsanti-dipsavaḥ* (104.20 b) :

. . . indraṁ dipsanti dipsavo'dābhyam /

[" . . . The deceitful ones seek to harm Indra who is beyond deception. "]
Both the words are derived from the root *dabh* ' to harm, to cheat '.

17. *dhiyā-dhīvantaḥ* (83.8 d) :

. . . dhiyā dhīvanto asapanta tṛtsavaḥ //

[" . . . Tṛtsus rich in hymns . . . waited upon you with their hymn and prayer. "]

In *dhiyā* and *dhīvantaḥ*, there is the same root *dhī* ' to think '.

18. *dhiyaṁdhe-dhītim* (13.1 ab) :

prāgnaye viśvaśuce dhiyaṁdhe' suraghne manma dhītiṁ bharadhvam /

[" Bring your hymn and prayer to Agni who illuminates all, supports the hymn and kills the demons. "]

Both the above substantives have been formed from a common root *dhī* 'to think'.

19. *pacata-paktiḥ* (32.8 cd) :

pacatā paktir avase kṛṇudhvam it pṛṇan it pṛṇate mayaḥ ||

[" . . . Cook the cooked offerings for him and surely induce him for a favour. "]

pacata and *paktiḥ* both are derived from *pac* 'to cook'.

20. *pātu-pāyubhiḥ* (38.3 d) :

. . . *viśvebhiḥ pātu pāyubhir ni sūrīn* ||

" May (the god Savitṛ) . . . protect our patrons with all his protective powers. "]

The verbal form *pātu* and the nominal form *pāyubhiḥ* both are derived from the root *pā* 'to protect'.

21. *pāthaḥ-pāsi* (5.7 b) :

. . *Vāyur na pāthaḥ pari pāsi sadyaḥ* |

[" . . You (Jātavedas) immediately guard your dominion like Vāyu. "]

Both the words have been derived from the root *pā* 'to protect, or to drink'. *Pāthas*, according to **Velankar** (*op. cit.*), is derived from the root *pā* 'to protect', and means a 'protectorate', a 'dominion'. Similarly, *pāsi* is derived from *pā* 'to protect'. Sāyaṇa,[7] however, derives both the words from *pā* 'to drink'. *Pāthas*, according to him, is a *Soma* drink. **Geldner**[8] explains the term *pāthas* as Gehege, 'enclosure, precinct'. **Grassmann**[9] explains as Luftpfad (airway).

22. *pṛṇan-pṛṇate* (32.8 d) :

. . *pṛṇann it pṛṇate mayaḥ* ||

[" . . A giver (of offerings) alone is a source of pleasure to a giver (of gifts) "]

Both the words are derived from the root *pṛ* 'to fill'.

---

[7] *Ṛgveda - Saṁhitā*, with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya, Vaidika Samshodhana Mandala, Vols. 1-4, Poona.

[8] Geldner, K. F. : *Der Rig - Veda*, Harvard University Press, London, Leipzig, Vols, I–IV, 1951, *s.v.* Vol. II

[9] Grassmann, H. : *Rig-Veda*, Ubeersetzt und mit kritischen und erlauternden Anmerjungen Vorsehen, Vols. I-II, Leipzig, 1876, *s.v.* Vol. I

23. *preṅkhe-īṅkhyāvahai* (88.3 b) :

. . . preṅkhe īṅkhyāvahai śubhe kam /

[" May we gloriously swing in that swing for the sake of beauty. "]

The words *preṅkhe* (*pra* + *iṅkhe*) and *īṅkhyāvahai* have been derived from the root *īṅkh* ' to swing '.

24. *bibharti-bhāram* (34.7 b) :

. . . bibharti bhāraṁ pṛthivi na bhūma /

[" . . . He (Agni) bears the burden (of sacrificial offerings), as the earth the creatures ".]

Both the words have been derived from the root *bhṛ* ' to bear '.

25. *bhavema-bhavantaḥ* (52.1 d):

. . bhavema dyāvāpṛthivī bhavantaḥ //

[" . . O Heaven and Earth, may be, while prospering, prosper still further."]

Both the forms are derived from the root *bhū* ' to be.' **Griffith**[10] translates as ' being, may we be, O Heaven and Earth.' **Grassmann** (*op. cit.*) explains the term *bhavantaḥ* as ' Glücklich ' (fortunate, lucky, prosperous); **Geldner** (*op. cit.*) as Gedeihende (growth, increase). Both these scholars agree with Sāyaṇa who explains *bhavantaḥ bhavema* as *bhūtimantaḥ syāma*. **Velankar** also accepts this meaning and opines that the root *bhū* is rarely used in the sense of ' to be prosperous,' and refers to the word *bhūti* (prosperity) in 1.161.1d and *bhūman* (abundance) in 10.98.12.

26. *bhāti-bhāsā* (10.1 c):

. . vṛṣā hariḥ śucir ā bhāti bhāsā . . /

[" The pure golden Bull (Agni) shines well with his refulgence. "]

Bhāti-bhāsā both have the same common root *bhā* ' to shine.'

27. *bhṛtam-bibharti-bibhrat* (33.14 ab):

ukthabhṛtaṁ sāmabhṛtaṁ bibharti, grāvāṇaṁ bibhrat pra vadātyagre /

[" He supports the bringer of the *ukthas* and the bringer of the *sāmans*, himself holding the press-stones, he may speak with authority in front of all . . "]

All the three words have been derived from the root *bhṛ* ' to bear.'

28. *madāḥ-mādayantu-mādayasva* (23.5 a d):

te tvā madā indra mādayantu, ... /
. . śūra savane mādayasva //

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[10] Griffith, R. T. H. : *The Hymns of the Rgveda*, (Eng. tr.), rep. Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi 1976, *s. v.*

[" May those joyous drinks gladden you, O Indra . . Rejoice in this libation, O brave god.")

The nominal form *madāḥ* and the verbal forms *mādayantu* and *mādayasva* all are derived from one root *mad* ' to gladden, to rejoice, to exhilarate.'

29. *manyuṁ-manmāni* (61.1d; 2b) :

. . . sa manyuṁ marteṣv ā ciketa // 61.1d
. . . vipro manmāni dīrghaśrud iyarti / 6 .2b

[" . . He . .. well knows every (evil) thought among the mortals. . . That holy priest who is far—famed. . . . sends forth his hymns (to you two, O Mitra and Varuṇa). "]

manyu a ' wicked thought ' and *manman* a ' *stotra* ' (hymn) both are derived from the root *man* ' to think ' which is common in both of them.

30. *manyuṁ-manyumyaḥ* (18.16c) :

indro manuyṁ manyumyo mimāya . . . //

[" Indra destroyed the fury of him who struck with fury . . . "]

Both the substantives *manyum* and *manyumyaḥ* (sg. *manyumī*) have been derived from the root *man* ' to think ', to think wickedly ', ' to think angrily '; hence, *manyu* or *manyumī* means ' angry, furious, wicked '.

31. *mṛḷa-mṛḷaya* (89.1-4c) :

mṛḷa sukṣatra mṛḷaya /

[" . . . have mercy, O lord of great dominion, have mercy ".]

The root *mṛḍ* ' to be gracious ' is common in both these verbal forms.

32. *rātisācaḥ-rāsan* (40.6 b) :

. . . varutrī yad rātiṣācaśca rāsan /

[" (Do not be angry with us here, O glowing Pūṣan), when Varutrī and other bounteous gods may give us (their gifts).].

rātiśācaḥ (i.e. O *ṣācaḥ*) and *rāsan* both are derived from the root *rā* ' to give '.

33. *rāya-rāyasi* (55.3 ac) :

stenaṁ rāya sārameya . . . /
stotṛn indrasya rāyasi . . . //

[" Attack a thief, O son of Saramā. . . You attack the bards of Indra. .. "]

Both the words *rāya* and *rāyasi* are derived from the root *rā* ' to attack, to bark at '. (Cf. also *ṚV.* 1.182.4a).

34. *rāyaḥ-rātau* (37.8 b) :

. . . ā rāyo yantu parvatasya rātau |

[" . . . may the treasures come (to us) in the bounty of *Parvata.* "]

Both the words are derived from the root *rā* ' to give '.

35. *rāsan, rātiṣācaḥ rāyaḥ* (34.22 ab) ;

tā no rāsan rātiṣāco vasūni . . |
. tvaṣṭā sudatro vi dadhātu rāyaḥ ||

[" May the gods, who resort to their gifts, grant us those treasures. . . May Tvaṣṭṛ . . . bestow riches on us. "]

All the above three terms have been derived from one root *rā* ' to give '.

36. *rāsva-aradaḥ* (79.4 ab)

tāvaduṣo rādho asmabhyaṁ rāsva, yāvat stotṛbhyo arado gṛṇāna |

[" Give us as much wealth, O Uṣas, as you gave to the (ancient) singers, being praised "]

Both the verbal forms *rāsva* and *aradaḥ* have been derived from the root *rā* ' to give '.

37. *vande-vandamānaḥ* (6.1 d) :

. . . . vande dāruṁ vandamāno vivakmi |

[" I bow to the breaker (of forts), while I bow down to him. "]

Both the words *vande* and *vandamānaḥ* have the root *vand* ' to greet, to salute ' common in them.

38. *vanvanto-vanuṣām* (21.9 cd):

vanvantu smā te ' vasā samīke ' bhitim aryo vanuṣām śavānsi ||

[" May they (i.e. our patrons and we) put down the onrush of an enemy and the mights of the attacking foes in a battle, by your favour ".]

The verbal form *vanvantu* and the substantive *vanuṣām* both have been derived from the root *van* ' to win '.

39. *vāto- vāti* (3.2 c):

ādasya vāto anu vāti śociḥ,. . ||

[" Immediately the wind blows after his flame. . "]

Both the words *vātaḥ* and *vāti* have been derived from the root *vā* ' to blow.'

40. *vāhiṣṭhaḥ-vahatu* (37.1 a):

ā vo vāhiṣṭho vahatu stavadhyai, ratho vājā ṛbhukṣaṇo amṛktaḥ |

[" May your unmolested, best-carrying chariot carry you here for being praised, O Vāyu, O Ṛbhukṣaṇa."]

Both the words have been derived from the same root *vah* 'to carry.'

41. *viśvapiśaḥ-piśānaḥ* (57.3 cd) :

ā rodasī viśvapiśaḥ piśānaḥ, samānamañjyañjate śubhekam ||

[" these all-adorning Maruts, bestowing lovely hues on the two worlds, put on a common decoration indeed for the sake of glory."]

The terms *viśvapiśaḥ* and *piśānaḥ* have been derived from the root *piś* ' to paint, to adorn.'

42. *vītatamāni-vyantu* (1.18)

emo agne vītatamāni havyā'jasro vakṣi devatātimaccha |
pratī na īm surabhīṇi vyantu ||

[" Carry these most enjoyed oblations to the whole assembly of gods, O Agni, without feeling exhausted; may they (i.e. the gods) gladly accept these lovely ones of ours. "]

Here the adjective *vītatamāni* (*havyāni*) and verbal form *vyantu* both are derived from the root *vī* ' to enjoy ' which is common in both the terms.

43. *śaṁśanti ukthaśāsaḥ* (19.9 b) :

..naraḥ śaṁsanty ukthaśāsa ukthā |

[" Men, who sing the *ukhthas*, sing them."]

There is the same common root *śaṁs* 'to praise' in the above terms. *Ukthaśāsa* and *ukthā* may also be noted which are derived from *vac* ' to speak.'

44. *śavasā-śūśuvuḥ* (74.6 c) :

uta svena śavasā śūśuvur nara .... |

[" Those brave men . . . have grown powerful by their own strength . . "]

The nominal form *śavasā* and the verbal form *śūśuvuḥ* both are derived from the root *śū* (*śvi*) ' to grow, to swell '.

45. *śucipā-pātam* (91.4 c) :

śuciṁ somaṁ śucipā pātam asme ... |

[". . . Do drink with us, O drinkers of the pure *Soma*, this pure *Soma*. . . "]

Śucipā and *pātam* have one common root *pā* ' to drink '.

46. *Śociṣā-śośuc*ānaḥ (5.4 cd; 13.2 a) :

tvaṁ bhāsā rodasi ā tatanthā'jasreṇa śociṣā śośucānaḥ || (5.4 cd)
tvam agne śociṣā śośucānaḥ ā rodasī apṛṇā jāyamānaḥ | (13.2 ab)

[" (O Vaiśvānara !) you have overpowered the two worlds with your lustre, shining with an exhaustless flame " (5.4)]

[" Shining with your light you fully filled both the worlds (even) while you were being born, O Agni ". (13.2)] *śociṣā* (Instr. sg.) and *śośucānaḥ* (participial adj.) have been derived from the root *śuc* ' to shine, to gleam ' common in both the words. Note the use of *bhāsā* from *bhās* ' to shine ' which too goes well with *śociṣā*.

47. *śravat-śrutkarṇa* (32.5 a) :

śravacchrutkarṇa īyate vasūnām . . . /

[" May he (Indra) listen to our prayers ; the (listener) with eager ears is begged for riches.]

The words *śravat* and *śrutkarṇa* both have the root *śrū* (to hear) common in them.

48. *śravayatam-śrutam* (62.5 cd) :

ā no jane śravayataṁ yuvānā, śrutaṁ me mitrāvaruṇā havemā //

[" . . . Make us famous among the people, O youthful gods, hear these calls of mine, O Mitra and Varuṇa. "]

Both the above verbal forms have the root *śrū* ' to hear ' common in them.

49. *sanema-sanantaḥ* (52.1 c) :

sanema mitrāvaruṇā sanantaḥ. . . //

[" O Mitrāvaruṇā ! may we, while winning, win still more. "]

The verbal form *sanema* and participial form *sanantaḥ* have been both derived from the root *san* ' to gain '.

50. *savanāni-sunoti* (32.6 cd) :

yas te gabhīrā savanāni vṛtrahant, sunoty ā ca dhāvati //

[" That warrior who presses abundant (*Soma*) libations to you and washes them for you, O killer of Vṛtra. . . "]

savanāni and *sunoti* both have been derived from the root *su* ' to press out '.

51. *savanāni-sunve* (97. 1c) :

indrāya yatra savanāni sunve . . . //

[" . . . When I press the libations (of *Soma*) for Indra. . . ".]

The substantive *savanāni* and the verbal form *sunve* both have been derived from the root *su* ' to press out '.

52. *sahavāhaḥ-vahanti* (97.6 ab) :

tam śagmāso aruṣāso aśvā, bṛhaspatiṁ sahavāho vahanti /

[" The rudy and powerful horses who draw in a team carry that Bṛhaspati. . . "]

Both the terms *sahavāhaḥ* and *vahanti* have been derived from the root *vah* ' to carry '.

53. *sahasā-sahante* (60.10 b) :

. . . apicyena sahasā sahante /

" . . . they (Mitrāvaruṇā) overpower with a might which is unobserved."
sahasā and *sahante* have been derived from the root *sah* ' to overpower '.

54. *sahāṁsi-visahya* (21.7 bc) :

devaścit. . . anu kṣatrāya mamire sahāṁsi /
indro maghāni dayate visahya . . . . //

[" The gods yielded their mights to your sovereign rule. Indra gives his gifts, having overpowered (the enemies). "]

Both the words have the root *sah* ' to prevail, to overpower ' common in them.

55. *sudīti-didīhi* (1.21) :

tvamagne . . . sudīti . . . didīhi //

[" O Agni. . . shine with glorious light. "]

The substatantive *sudīti* (Instr. sg.) and the verbal form *didīhi* have been derived from the root *dī* (*dīdī*) ' to shine '.

56. *sunota-somapāvne-somam* (32.8 ab) :
sunota somapāvne, somam indrāya vajriṇe /

[" Press your *Soma* for the drinker of *Soma,* namely, Indra, the wielder of the bolt ".

All the above three words have been derived from the root *su* ' to press out '.

57. *susamidhā-samiddhaḥ* (17.1 a) :

agne bhava susamidhā samiddhaḥ. . . /

[" O Agni ! be kindled with a good kindling. "]

Both the words have been derived from the root *idh* (*indh*) with the prefix *sam* " to kindle '.

58. *suhavā-havāmahe* (82.4 d) :

indrāvaruṇā suhavā havāmahe //

[" We (the bards) call upon you, O Indra and Varuṇa, who are easy to call. "]

Both the above words have been derived from the root *hū* ' to call '.

59. *soma-susāva-sotuḥ* (22.1):

pibā somam indra mandatu tvā, yam te suṣāva haryaśvādriḥ /
soturbāhubhyāṁ suyato nārvā //

[" Drink *Soma*, O Indra, may it, which the press-stone, behaving like a well-controlled horse, has pressed for you with the help of the arms of the pressing priest, give you delight, O Haryaśva."]

All the three words have the root *su* ' to press out ' common in them.

60. *hanmanā-hantana* (59.8 d):

..marutaḥ..tapiṣṭhena hanmanā hantanā tam ||

[" O Maruts, do kill him with the most scorching weapon of yours."]

Both the above words have been derived from the root *han* ' to kill.' *Hanman* (neut.) means a weapon.

61. *haṁsi-suhantu* (19.4):

tvaṁ bhūrīṇi vṛtrā haryaśva haṁsi |
tvaṁ ni dasyuṁ cumuriṁ dhuniṁ cā'svāpayo dabhītaye suhantu ||

[" You kill..many enemies, O lord of bay horses. You sent down to eternal sleep the Dasyus, Dhuni and Cumuri for the sake of Dabhīti, so as to make them easy to kill."]

The verbal form *haṁsi* and the adverb *suhantu* both have been derived from the root *han* ' to smite.' For the adverbial use of *suhantu*, cf. 30.2 d.

62. *havante-havyam* (30.2 a)

havante u tvā havyaṁ vivāci..śūrāḥ |

[" Brave men indeed call upon you, who are fit to be called in a battle. "]

Both the words have the root *hū* ' to call ' common in them.

63. *hotā-johavīti* (56.18 a):

ā vo hotā johavīti sattaḥ..|

[" Our *Hotṛ* priest being seated, repeatedly calls upon you."]

hotā and *johavīti* both have been derived from the root *hū* ' to call.'

II. One Stem : Two or Many Substantives :

Sometimes it is noticed that a word-pair has been caused with the help of a common stem in both the derivatives which are derived from a common root.

1. *andhaḥ-andhasaḥ* (21.1 ad):

asāvi devaṁ go ṛjīkamandho .... |
... bodhā naḥ stomamandhaso madeṣu ||

[" The divine gladdening drink (*andhas*) which is strengthened by cow's milk is pressed... (O lord of bay horses), in the wild joys of that drink do appreciate our hymn ".]

Both the words *andhaḥ* and *andhasaḥ* have been derived from the stem *andhas* ' *soma* plant, *soma* juice '. The stem *andhas* has been derived from the root *ad*.

2. *anyaḥ-anyam* (103.3 d; 4 a) :

... anyo anyamupa vadantameti / 3d
anyo anyamanu gṛbhṇāti. .. / 4a

[" One of them croaks and approaches another who greets him in return, as a son does his father. " (3d)]

[" One of these two joyfully greets the other. .. " (4a)]

The stem *anya* is common in both the above substantives.

3. *anyaḥ-anyasya* (103.5 ab) :

yadeṣāmanyo anyasya vācam, śāktasyeva vadati śikṣamāṇaḥ /

[" When one of these repeats the speech of the other as a pupil does that of his teacher ... "]

The stem *anya* is common in both of them.

4. *ṛtapā-ṛtejāḥ* (20.6 d) :

kṣayat sa rāya ṛtapā ṛtejāḥ /

[" ... he, who is born in *Ṛta*, is a defender of *Ṛta*. .. living long for (enjoying) the riches. "]

ṛtapā and *ṛtejāḥ* have the common stem *ṛta*.

5. *citra-citryam* (20.7 d) :

..ā citra citryaṁ bharā rayiṁ naḥ /

[" O wonderful god (Indra) bring us wonderful riches."]

Both the words *citra* and *citryam* have a common stem *citra* ' wonderful, excellent. '

6. *tavasaḥ-tavīyān* (100.3 c):

pra viṣṇurastu tavasastavīyān.. /

[" May Viṣṇu be pre-eminent (and) stronger than the strong one."]

The common stem *tavas* is found in both the terms *tavasaḥ* and *tavīyān*.

7. *duritāni-duritāt* (12.2 ac) :

sa mahnā viśvā duritāni sāhvān ... /
sa no rakṣisadduritādavadyāt ... /

[" That Jātavedas Agni who has overpowered all evils by his greatness. .. May he protect us. .. from evil and censure. "]

Both the words have the common stem *durita* which has been derived from the root *ī* ' to go ' with the prefix *dur* and the suffix *ta*.

8. *duryāsu-durya* (1.11 c) :

prajāvatīṣu duryāsu durya /

[" .. (But we may be) in homes which are full of children, O household god. "]

Both the words have the common stem *dur*. *Durya* in *duryāsu* (loc. pl.) means ' a home ' which has ' doors', and *durya* (Vocative sg.) means ' belonging to the door ', ' household '. Cf. *duraḥ* in 2.5.

9. *devī-devebhiḥ* (75.7):

satyā satyebhirmahatī mahadbhir, devī devebhiryajatā yajatraiḥ /
rujad dṛḷhāni dadadusriyāṇāṁ, prati gāva uṣasaṁ vāvaśanta //

[" The unfailing, great, and holy goddess, in the company of the unfailing, great, and holy gods, may break the strong places (of Vala) and give us the cows; the cows have bellowed to greet Uṣas."]

satyā, *mahatī*, *devī*, and *yajatā* are epithets of Uṣas who breaks open the strong places (*dṛḷhāni*) (of Vala) with *satyebhiḥ*, *mahadbhiḥ*, *devebhiḥ*, and *yajatraiḥ*. Each pair in this *mantra* has the common stem *deva*, *satya*, *mahat*, and *yajat*.

10. *narām-nṛtama-nṛṇām* (19.10) :

ete stomā narāṁ nṛtama tubhyamasmadryañco dadato maghāni /
teṣāmindra vṛtrahatye śivo bhūḥ, sakhā ca śūro' vitā ca nṛṇām //

[" These hymns of us, the men, are for you, O most heroic one (among men). .. Be a benevolent friend and a valiant defender, O Indra, of those brave men (i e. our patrons), in a battle. "]

The words *narām*, *nṛtama* and *nṛṇām* are to be noticed. All the three words have the same stem *nṛ*. Further *narām stomaḥ* of this verse may be connected with *naraḥ ukthaśāsaḥ* of the earlier verse 19.9. Cf. also 48.1; 66.12.

11. *mahatī-mahadbhiḥ* (75.7) :

See under *devī-devebhiḥ* in this section.

12. *manuṣvad-manunā* (2.3 c) :

. . . *manuṣvadagniṁ manunā samiddham*. . . /

[" . . . let us always worship well in the manner of Manu, your Agni who was kindled by Manu. . . "]

Both the terms *manuṣvad* and *manunā* have the stem *manu*, and they are derived from the root *man* ' to think ' (cf. *mānuṣāsaḥ* at 7 4).

13. *yajatā-yajatraiḥ* (75.7) :

See under *devī-devebhiḥ* in this section.

14. *yajñiyāḥ-yajñiyānām* (35.15 a) :

ye devānāṁ yajñiyāḥ yajñiyānām . . . //

[" Those gods (Viśvedevāḥ) deserving a sacrifice among the gods who deserve a sacrifice. . . "]

Both the words have the common stem *yajña* in them which is derived from the root *yaj* ' to worship '.

15. *yāvā-yātumāvān* (1.5 c):

na yaṁ yāvā tarati yātumāvān //

[" . .and which (wealth) an enemy, (though) an employer of *Yātus*, shall not destroy. . "]

The words *yāvā* and *yātumāvān* both have the common stem *yāvan*, and both have been derived from the root *yā* ' to invade.'

16. *vājaḥ-vājasātau* (48.2 c):

vājo asmān avatu vājasātau . . . /

[" May Vāja favour us in the battle . "]

Both the words have *Vāja* as stem. . Vāja is one of the three brothers, the other two being Ṛbhu and Vibhu. Notice the pun on the word *vāja* in *vājasātau* (in the fight for booty) and on the name Vāja. (Cf. *vāje* ' *saṅgrāme* ' in 67.5).

17. *viśām-viśpatiḥ* (7.4 c) :

viśāṁ adhāyi viśpatiḥ duroṇe. . /

[" Agni, the lord of people, is placed in the home of the people "]

Both words *viśām* and *viśpatiḥ* have the stem *viś* common in them.

18. *vṛṣā-vṛṣaṇam* (20.5 a):

vṛṣā jajāna vṛṣaṇaṁ raṇāya. . /

[" The mighty father produced the mighty (son) for the joy of battle."]

Both the above words have the stem *vṛṣan* which has been derived from the root *vṛṣ* ' to shower, to sprinkle ' (*retas*). *Vṛṣā*, according to Sāyaṇa, is Kaśyapa, and *vṛṣaṇam* is Indra. The allusion is to the Indra's parents Kaśyapa and Aditi, for, it is said in the same verse *tamu cit nārī naryaṁ sasūva*. However, according to Griffith, the father is Dyaus who has been mentioned in 4.17.4 and 12.

19. *Vṛṣṇe-vṛṣaṇā* (19.6 c) :

vṛṣṇe te harīvṛṣaṇā yunajmi . . . /

[" I yoke your mighty horses (*vṛṣaṇā harī*) for you, the mighty one (*vṛṣṇe*-Indra). "]

Both the words *vṛṣṇe* and *vṛṣaṇā* have the stem *vṛṣan* which is derived from the root *vṛṣ* ' to sprinkle, to shower '; hence, *vṛṣṇa* means ' prolific sprinkler, showerer' (of *retas*), that is the strong one. Note that Indra and his horses both are said to be 'strong ones'.

20. *śaktam-śakti-śacībhiḥ* (68.8 ad) :

vṛkāya cijjasamānāya śaktam . . . |
. . . staryaṁ cicchaktyaśvinā śacībhiḥ ||

[" You gave strength even to the famished wolf (i.e. Śayu) having fattened (with milk) even his barren cow with your powers and might . . . "]

All the three words have one common stem (and root) *śak*.

21. *śaktam-śacīpati-śacībhiḥ* (67.5 d) :

. . . tā naḥ śaktaṁ śacīpati śacībhiḥ |

[" Help us with your powers, O lords of power, (Aśvins). "]

All the above three words have one common stem (and root) *śak*.

22. *śavasā-śavasānā* (93.2 ab) :

tā sānasī śavasānā hi bhūtaṁ, sākaṁvṛdhā śavasā śūśuvāṁsā |

[" O mighty gods, you have become winners (of gifts for our sake), prospering together (and) growing great with your strength. "]

Both the words have the stem *śavas* ' strength ' in them. Mark the *anuprāsa*.

23. *satyā-satyebhiḥ* (75 7) :

See under *devī-devebhiḥ* in this section.

24. *sukṛtām-sukṛtāni* (35.4 c) :

śaṁ naḥ sukṛtām sukṛtāni santu . . . ||

[" May the pious deeds of the pious ones be good to us. "]

Both the words have the common stem *sukṛt*.

III. One Stem used in different cases :

Two substantives derived from one and the same stem have been used in different cases forming a word-pair.

1. *agnayaḥ-agnibhyaḥ* (1.4 ab):

pra te agnayo'gnibhyo varaṁ niḥ suvīrāsaḥ śośucanta dyumantaḥ |

[" Those fires, brilliant, bestower of brave sons, have shone far better than other fires."]

In this pair both the words have one stem *agni* in nom. pl. and ablative pl.

In this verse two fires, sacrificial and household, have been compared. The sacrificial fires have been declared superior (*varam*) to the household fire. The reason for their superiority is given in the third *pāda* of the *mantra yatrā naraḥ samāsate sujātāḥ* ' where, that is, around the sacrificial fires, people of high birth sit,' whereas the ordinary household fires are resorted to by common people.

There are different opinions as to the nature of the two types of fires mentioned in this *mantra*. Sāyaṇa explains *agnibhyaḥ* as worldly fires (*laukikebhyo'gnibhyaḥ*). **Velankar** explains both the fires as sacrificial fires; in the latter case, those sacrificial fires where no great sacrifices are performed. He quotes verse 14 of this *sūkta* and 3.1 to support his view. Let us examine to get the real fact. In the very first *mantra* of this *sūkta*, the production of fire with two *Araṇis*, and the movements of hands are expressly referred to. This refers obviously to the sacrificial fire. In this following *mantra* the household fire is certainly mentioned. Keeping this in view Sāyaṇa's interpretation is correct.

Geldner and **Grassmann** also take the two fires to be sacrificial and household fires.

2. *agnaye-agne* (3.7 ac) :

> *yathā vaḥ svāhāgnaye dāśema . . . /*
> *tebhirno agne amitairmahobhiḥ, . . . ni pāhi //*

[" Protect us well O Agni, so that we may wait upon you, Agni. "]

Both the words have one stem *agni*. *Agne* (Voc. sg.) refers to the divine Agni and *agnaye* (Dative sg.) refers to the physical form of the sacrificial Agni.

3. *agniḥ-agnīn* (1.14 a) :

> *sedagniragniratyastvanyān, yatra vājī tanayo vīḷupāṇiḥ /*
> *sahasrapathā akṣarā sameti //*

[" May that Agni alone surpass all other Agnis . . . "]

Both have one stem *agni*. Agni (Nom. sg.) is said to surpass all other Agnis (Acc. pl). In this *mantra* also, there is a reference to two types of Agni. *Sam eti* in this verse and *sam āsate* in the earlier verse (1.4) may be marked. **Velankar** translates : " May that Agni alone excel all other Agnis, where a powerful son of mighty arms (i.e. a patron), bringing a thousand drinks (i.e. *Soma* offerings) associates himself with an undying (hymn of the poet), and accepts, as in the earlier verse, two Agnis as two sacrificial fires. Sāyaṇa explains *anyān agnīn* as *itarān anyadīyān agnim* obviously referring to the other household fires. Velankar takes it to mean, as in 1.4, " those sacrificial fires where no great sacrifices are offered. " But this seems to be incorrect, for, if one were to accept *V*'s explanation, then *vājī tanayaḥ vīḷupāṇiḥ sahàsrapathā akṣarā sam eti* would be rendered meaningless because these things are expected at great sacrifices only Therefore, here *agnīn* refers to the sacrificial fires where sacrifices are in active progress. But, then, how could Agni surpass (*ati astu*) these active sacrificial fires ? In this whole *sūkta*, two aspects of Agni are clearly perceptible : 1. sacrificial aspect, and 2. divine aspect (vide particularly vss 7, 8, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19—21, 24; *agniṣu* in vs. 22 also refers to the sacrificial fires.). Therefore, in the present vs. 14 also Agni is referred to as the divine Agni who surpasses all other Agnis whether sacrificial or domestic. Significantly in verse 22 sacrificial fires are said to have been kindled by the gods (*deva iddheṣu agniṣu*).

4. *agnim-agnibhiḥ* (3.1 ab) :

agniṁ vo devamagnibhiḥ sajoṣā, yajiṣṭhaṁ dūtamadhvare kṛṇuddhvam |

[" Make your Agni, the best worshipping god accompanied by other Agnis, your messenger at the sacrifice. "]

The subject is not mentioned. Sāyaṇa supplies *devaḥ* and explains *he devāḥ vaḥ yūyam. . . agnim adhvare yajñe dūtam kṛṇuddhvaṁ kuruta :* ' O gods, you make Agni (your) messenger to the sacrifice. ' The difficulty lies with the words *agnibhiḥ sajoṣā.* It may be suggested that *agnibhiḥ sajoṣā* should be regarded as a parenthetical clause. Obviously, the *dautyakarma* of Agni is connected with, to, and from the sacrificial fires. (Cf. 2.3 *antardūtaṁ rodasī*).

In the above two words also there is one stem *agni* common in them.

5. *bhāratī-bhāratībhiḥ* (2.8 a) :

ā bhāratī bhāratībhiḥ sajoṣā. . . . |

[" May Bhāratī together with the Bhāratīs .. occupy this grass-seat. "]

Bhāratī is common in both. About Bhāratīs Velankar says, " Bhāratīs and Sārasvatas are the imaginary female and male followers of Bhāratī and Sarasvatī among the celestials. " However it appears more likely that Bhāratī represents one aspect of Vāk only, i.e., her celectial aspect.[11]

IV. Part of a word common in two or more substantives :

Many a time, it is noticed that one member of a two member—word, either initial or final, is common in two or more substantives of the word-pair. At times, a common stem is also found in them.

1. *abhiṣācaḥ-rātiṣācaḥ* (35.11 c) :

śamabhiṣācaḥ śamu rātiśācaḥ . . . |

[" May the Helpful and the Bountiful gods be good to us. "]

The term *sācaḥ* is found in each part of the above word-pair.

The word is derived from the root *sac* ' to accompany '.

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[11] Lal S. K.: *Female Divinities in Hindu Mythology and Ritual*, C.A.S.S. University of Poona, Pune, 1980, 185ff.

2. *aśvāvatī-vīravati* (80.3 ab) :

aśvāvatīrgomatīrna uṣāso, vīravatīḥ sadamucchantu bhadrāḥ |

[" May the auspicious Dawns always shine on us bringing us horses, cows, and brave sons. .. "]

Both the words in the above pair have the suffix *vat* common in them.

3. *aśvāmaghā-gomaghā* (71.1 c) :

aśvāmaghā gomaghā vāṁ huvema. .. |

[" Let us invoke you (O Asvins), who give gifts of horses and cows ".]

The term *magha* 'gift' (from the root *maṅh*, *mah* 'be great, be liberal, bestow') is common in both the words.

4. *ṛtāvāna-ṛtajātā-ṛtāvṛdhaḥ* (66.13 a) :

ṛtāvāna ṛtajātā ṛtāvṛdhaḥ.... |

[" Lords of *Ṛta*, born in *Ṛta*, furtherers of *Ṛta* (Mitra and Varuṇa).... "

Ṛta is common in them.

5. *dvipade-catuṣpade* (54.1 d) :

.. śaṁ no bhava dvipade śaṁ catuṣpade ||

[" Be gracious to our bipeds and quadrupeds (O Vāstospati). "]

The term *pada* is repeated in both the substantives.

6. *pṛśnigāvaḥ-pṛśninipreṣitāsaḥ* (18.10 cd) :

pṛśnigāvaḥ pṛśninipreṣitāsaḥ, śruṣṭiṁ cakrurniyuto rantayaśca |

[" The Pṛśnigus were sent down (to their doom) by Pṛśni, their horses and enjoyments meekly followed them. "]

The term *pṛśni* is common in both the words.

The *Dāśarājña* war has been referred to in this *sūkta*. Pṛśnigus were a clan. Note the pun on the word *pṛśni*.

7. *Pravataḥ-nivataḥ-udvataḥ-udanvatīḥ* (50.4 ab):

yāḥ pravato nivata udvata, udanvatīranudakāśca yāḥ |

[" May all these rivers, the gracious goddesses, which flow over slopes, or in low and high places, which contain abundant waters in them, or which do not possess them..."]

The suffix *vat* is common in all the above words.

8. *brahman- brahmakṛtim* (29.2 ab):

brahman vīra brahmakṛtiṁ juṣāṇo'rvācīno haribhiryāhi tūyam |

[" Come quickly turning towards us with your horses, O priest and warrior, accepting our hymnal composition."]

Both the words *brahman* (priest) and *brahmakṛtim* (poetic work) have the common stem *brahma* (neut.) derived from *bṛh* 'to make big or strong.'

9. *maghavan-maghonām* (32.7 a) :

bhavā varūthaṁ maghavan maghonām... |

[" Be the protection of our patron, O Maghavan . . "]

Both the words *maghavan* and *maghonām* have *magha* (' gift ' from *manh* ' to give ') common in them.

10. *martyam-martasya* (82.7 ad):

na tamaṁho na duritānimartyamindrāvaruṇā na tapaḥ kutaścana |
...na taṁ martasya naśate parihṛtiḥ ||

[" Neither danger nor evils, nor any trouble from anywhere (overtakes) that mortal, O Indra and Varuṇa. . . . The wicked mischief of a mortal does not touch him."]

Both the words have the root *mṛ* ' to die ' common in them.

11. *mahe-mahivṛdhe* (31.10 a):

pra vo mahe mahivṛdhe bharadhvam. . |

[" Bring your (offering) to your great (Indra) who grows very mighty."]

Both the words *mahe* and *mahivṛdhe* have *maha* ' great ' common in them.

12. *viśve-viśvaminva* (28.1 cd) :

viśve ciddhi tvā vihavanta martā, asmākamicchṛṇuhi viśvaminva |

[" Even though all men call upon you variously, listen to our call alone, O all-impeller. "]

The word *viśva* is common in both of them.

13. *viśveṣām-vaiśvānaraḥ* (5.1 cd) :

yo viśveṣāmamṛtānāmupasthe, vaiśvānaro vāvṛdhe jāgṛvadbhiḥ ||

[" Who, the Vaiśvānara, has grown powerful through the wakeful priest, at the bosom of all the immortals. "]

Viśveṣām and *vaiśvānara* have the stem *viśva* common in them.

14. *śucim-śucipāḥ* (90.2 b) :

. . . śucim somaṁ śucipāstubhyaṁ vāyo |

[" (You make him highly praised among the mortals, who has brought you, the ruler,) an offering and pure *Soma*, O Vāyu, O drinker of the pure *Soma*. "]

The stem *śuci* is common in both of them.

15. *samrāṭ-svarāṭ* (82.2 a) :

samrāḷanyaḥ svarāḷanya uccyate vām . . . /

[" One of you two is called a sovereign ruler and the other a self-ruler. "]

Rāṭ (from *rāj* ' to rule ') is common in both the words.

16. *sahasradānaḥ-sadānaḥ* (33.12 b) :

sahasradāna uta vā sadānaḥ . . . /

[" . . . giving his gifts in thousands or indeed always associated with gifts. . . "]

Both the terms have *dāna* (from *dā* ' to give ') common in them.

V. Two different roots with identical meaning :

There is one word-pair in this *maṇḍala* which is formed with one substantive and one verb. Both the words have been derived from two different roots, but the roots have identical meaning.

1. *tapiṣṭhaiḥ-daha* (15.13 c) :

tapiṣṭhairajaro daha /

[" O Agni, being ageless, burn down with your most scorching (flames) those that harm us."]

The word *tapiṣṭhaḥ* is derived from the root *tap* ' to heat ' and the verb *daha* is derived from *dah* ' to burn.' Roots are different, meaning is identical. Cf. *tapiṣṭhena* in 59.8 d.

VI Opposites of words :

There are certain pair of words which have been formed with the help of opposites of one stem which is common in both of them.

1. *atūtujim-tūtujiḥ* (28.3 d) :

. . .*atūtujiṁ cit tūtujirāśiśnat* /

[" The active one smashed down the sluggish one. . "]

Atūtuji and *tūtuji* are opposites. The word *tūtuji* is derived from the root *tuj* ' to urge, to thrust,' and means ' the one who urges, the active one.' *Tūtujiḥ* is Indra. *Atūtuji* is Vṛtra. For *tūtuji* see also 10.22.3; 10.44.1.

2. *artham-nyartham* (18.9 a) :

īyurarthaṁ na nyarthaṁ paruṣṇīm. . . /

" They went down to the Paruṣṇī (which proved) their disaster, (as smoothly) as they would to their destination. . . " Cf. 63.4 for *artha* meaning destination.

The whole *sūkta* refers to the *Dāśarājña* war,[12] which was fought between King Sudāsa of the Bharatas and the confederation of ten Kings. The conclusive battle was fought on the banks of the river Paruṣṇī where the army of Sudāsa's enemies was completely routed. In the preceding verse 8, there is a reference to the actual position of the two armies. It appears that the enemy army was positioned on the right bank of the river Paruṣṇī. The confederates intending to attack Sudāsa attempted to make the river fordable by digging a channel and so diverting the water. It seems that they did not succeed and the water of the river rushed backward unto its natural bed and drowned the men who were crossing the stream. Our present verse refers to this their doom. The words *artham* and *nyartham* are the key words. The first line of the verse reads: *īyur arthaṁ na nyarthaṁ paruṣṇīm āśuś canedabhipitvaṁ jagāma.* " They (enemies) sped to destruction (*nyartham*, i.e., no destination: opposites of *artham*) as to their goal or destination (*artham na*). *Artham* refers to actual destination of the enemy army, i.e. the place where Sudāsa's army was positioned and which was to be attacked. *Nyartham* is no *artham* ' no destination ' and refers to their being drowned in the water of Paruṣṇī which definitely the enemy army never wanted as their destination. It proved their destruction. One is struck by the judicious use of the terms *artham* and *nyartham* as opposite of each other.

3. *āgaḥ-anāgaḥ* (87.7 ab) :

yo mṛḷayati cakruṣe cidāgo, vayaṁ syāma varuṇe anāgāḥ /

[" May we be (considered as) faultless in the presence of Varuṇa, who takes pity even on one who commits an offence. "]

The opposite words *āgaḥ* and *anāgaḥ* highlight the merciful nature of Varuṇa.

4. *udanvatī-anudakāḥ* (50.4 b) :

yāḥ pravato nivata udvata, udanvatīranudakāśca yāḥ /

[" May all the rivers. .. which flow over slopes, or in low and high places, which contain abundant waters in them, or which do not possess them (be free from the *śipada* and *śimida* diseases.)"]

Udanvatīḥ are those rivers who have waters in all seasons, and the *anudakāḥ* are those that dry in the summer. For *śimida* cf. *AV* 4.25.4.

5. *ṛta-anṛta* (66.13 ab) :

ṛtāvāna ṛtajātā ṛtāvṛdho, ghorāso anṛtadviṣaḥ /

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[12] Sharma, U. C. : " *The Dāśarājña War,* " *CASS Studies* No. 1, University of Poona, Poona, 1973, 101-126; and Dandekar, R. N. : " *The Dāśarājña,* " *Ibid.*, 127-129.

[" Lords of *Ṛta*, born in *Ṛta*, furtherers of *Ṛta*, these formidable gods are the haters of falsehood. "]

Mitra and Varuṇa are very closely connected with *Ṛta*, and they are haters of *Anṛta*.

6. *kaviḥ-akaviṣu* (4.4 a) :

ayaṁ kavirakaviṣu pracetā . . . |

[" This wise (*kavi*) Agni (is placed) in the midst of the ignorants "]

Both words are opposites.

7. *martaḥ-amartye* (1.23 ab) :

sa marto agne svanīka, revān, amartye ya ājuhoti havyam |

[" That mortal who pours an offering in you, the immortal god, becomes rich, O Agni of lovely face. "]

Martaḥ (a mortal), *amartye* (immortal-Agni), the contrast heightens the beauty of the verse.

8. *marteṣu-amṛtaḥ* (4.4 b) :

. . . martyeṣvagniramṛto ni dhāyi |

[" This immortal Agni is placed in the midst of the ignorant mortals. "]

Both are opposite words.

9. *mṛtyoḥ-amṛtāt* (59.12 cd) :

urvārukamiva bandhanān, mṛtyormukṣīya māmṛtāt |

[" May I be released from death, like a gourd from its stem; but not from deathless (Life). "]

Both are opposites and are used in ablative singular.

VII Different substantives/Adjectives : similar meaning :

At times it is found that some word-pairs are formed with the help of adjectives or epithets of divinities which have been derived from different roots/stems, but all of them have identical meaning.

1. *davidyutat-dīdyat* (10.1 b) :

. . . davidyutat dīdyacchośucānaḥ |

[" Repeatedly shining, blazing, and flaming, Agni has assumed extensive lustre...... "]

The forms *davidyutot* and *dīdyat* are derived from the root *dī dīdi* ' to shine '.

2. *name nemim* (32.20 cd) :

ā va indraṁ puruhūtaṁ name girā, nemiṁ taṣṭeva sudruvam |

[" I bend your oft-invited Indra (towards) myself with a hymn, as a carpenter bends the rim of a wheel made of superior wood. "]

Both *name* and *nemim* are derived from the root *nam* ' to bend, to bow '.

3. *bhāsā-śociṣā-śośucānaḥ* (5.4 cd) :

tvaṁ bhāsā rodasī ā tatantha, ajasreṇa śociṣā śośucānaḥ ||

[" You have overpowered the two worlds with your lustre, shining with an exhaustless flame. "]

The term *bhāsā*, *śociṣā*, *śośucānaḥ* are connected with Agni Vaiśvānara used earlier in the verse. *Bhāsā* has been derived from *bhās* ' to shine '; *śociṣā* and *śośucānaḥ* have been derived from *śuc* ' to shine '.

4. *vasiṣṭha-śukra-dīdivaḥ* (1.8 b) :

ā yaste agna idhate anīkam, vasiṣṭha śukra dīdivaḥ pāvaka |

[" And may you be here.... who kindles your face, O Agni, brilliant, bright, refulgent, purifier.]

Vasiṣṭha, *śukra*, and *dīdivaḥ* are used for Agni. *Vasiṣṭha* has been derived from the root *vas* ' to shine ', *śukra* from *śuc* ' to gleam ', and *dīdivaḥ* from *dī dīdī* ' to shine '. All the three forms have been derived from different roots; but all the roots have identical meanings ' to shine. '

5. *śukra-śociṣe* (14.1 cd) :

havirbhiḥ śukra śociṣe namasvino, vayaṁ dāśemagnaye |

[" ..let us worship divine Agni Jātavedas, who is possessed of a bright flame, with fuel, with invocations to the gods, and with oblations."]

śukra and *śociṣe* have been derived from *śuc* ' to shine.' Note that *śukra* modifies *śociṣe*.

6. *śośucānaḥ-śuciḥ* (10.1 bc):

... davidyutad dīdyacchośucānaḥ |
vṛṣā hariḥ śucirā bhāti bhāsā... ||

[" Repeatedly shining, blazing and flaming, Agni has assumed extensive lustre...The pure golden Bull shines well with his refulgence..."]

The forms *śośucānaḥ* and *śuciḥ* are derived from *śuc* ' to shine.' Both the terms qualify Agni.

VIII. A pair of words/sentences where the one complements the other :

There are certain word-pairs and pair of sentences which are formed in such a way that one word of the pair enforces the meaning of the other word, or one sentence enforces the meaning of the other sentence. Thus they appear interlinked,

1. *jāyamānaḥ-jātaḥ* (99.2 ab):

na te viṣṇo jāyamāno na jāto, deva mahimnaḥ paramantamāpa |

[" None born in the past nor at the present has visualised the farthest end of your greatness, O god Viṣṇu."]

The words *jātaḥ* and *jāyamānaḥ* heighten the greatness of Viṣṇu. There was none, there is none, who can fathom the greatness of Viṣṇu.

2. *taviṣībhiḥ-tuviṣmaḥ* (20.4 ab) :

ubhe cidindra rodasī mahitvā'paprātha taviṣībhistuviṣmaḥ |

[" Owing to your great powers, you completely filled both the worlds by your greatness, O mighty Indra. "]

Since Indra is powerful, he has filled both the worlds with his power. Both the words have been derived from the stem *tavas*, from the root *tu* 'to grow strong'.

3. *dūtaḥ-mitadruḥ* (7.1 cd) :

bhavā no dūto adhvarasya vidvān, tmanā deveṣu vivide mitadruḥ |

[" Be the messenger of our sacrifice, O Agni, knowing it well. Indeed, he is known as a measured runner among the gods. "]

mitadru, (*mita* 'measured', *dru* 'to run'), 'a measured runner' i.e. a fast runner. The term *mitadru* enforces the *dautyakarma* of Agni. Cf. *dravat dūtaḥ* in 10.2.

4. *dhṛṣṇo-dhṛṣatā* (19.3 ab) :

tvaṁ dhṛṣṇo dhṛṣatā vītahavyaṁ, prāvo viśābhirūtibhiḥ sudāsam |

[" You boldly defended with your protective powers, (king) Sudās, O bold one. "]

The vocative *dhṛṣṇo* (from the stem *dhṛṣṇu*) enforces *dhṛṣatā pra āvaḥ*.

5. *pṛthivī-pārthivāt* (104.23 c) :

pṛthivī naḥ pārthivāt pātvaṁhasaḥ. . . ||

[" May the earth protect us from any danger coming from the side of the earth. . . "]

The words *pṛthivī* and *pārthivāt* are complementary to each other. The goddess earth can naturally protect one from earthly dangers.

6. *prathamā-nūtanā* (98.5 ab) :

prendrasya vocam prathamā kṛtāni, pra nūtanā maghavā yā cakāra |

[" May I proclaim the early deeds of Indra, as also the new ones which the *Maghavan* performed. "]

The words *prathamā* and *nūtanā* are construed with *kṛtāni*. Both the words highlight the great many deeds Indra had performed in the past, and continues to perform even now.

7. *bhadram-bhadrā* (96.3 a):

bhadramid bhadrā kṛṇavat sarasvatī... /

[" May the auspicious Sarasvatī send us bliss alone. "]

bhadram, *bhadrā* are complementary to each other. Since Sarasvatī is auspicious, one expects auspicious things from her.

8. *ratnam-ratnadhā* (16.6 ab):

kṛdhi ratnaṁ yajamānāya sukrato, tvaṁ hi ratnadhā asi /

[" Bestow a lovely gift on the sacrificer, O wise one (Agni); (why, because) you are a giver of lovely gifts.]

The word *ratnadhā* enforces the term *ratnam*.

9. *kṣapa usraśca dīdihi, svagnayastvayā vayam* /
suvīrastvamasmayuḥ // 15.8

[" Shine through nights and mornings; through you we are possessed of good fires; (on the other hand), you are possessed of heroic followers (through us), being fond of us."]

Here, a close affinity is expressed between god Agni and the worshipper. Hence, both sentences are complementary to each other.

10. *taccakṣurdevahitam śukramuccarat* /
paśyema śaradaḥ śataṁ jīvema śaradaḥ śatam // (66.16)

[" May we see for a hundred autumns that rising bright eye placed by the gods (in the mid-region); may we live a hundred autumns."]

paśyema and *jīvema* are complementary to each other. One can look for hundred winters, only when one lives for hundred autumns.

11. *pāhi kṣeme uta yoge varaṁ naḥ* (54.3 c):

[" Protect us in our rest and also in our work according to our desire "]

kṣeme and *yoge* are complementary to each other.

12. *bhaga eva bhagavān astu devās, tena vayaṁ bhagavantaḥ syāma* / (41.5 ab)

[" May Bhaga alone be the bringer of good fortune, O gods, may we be fortunate through him..."]

In this *mantra* both the ideas are interdependent. Bhaga, the god of good fortune, obviously can grant good fortune.

14. *vṛtrāṇyanyaḥ samitheṣu jighnate, vratānyanyo abhi rakṣate sadā* | (83.9 ab)

[" One of you two kills the enemies in battles, while the other always carefully guards his own laws."]

Names are not mentioned. The first sentence refers to Indra, and the second refers to Varuṇa, Indra conquers, Varuṇa guards. Both are complementary to each other.

IX. Dissimilar prefixes, similar roots :

There are two word-pairs in this *maṇḍala* which have been formed by adding two different prefixes to different verbal forms, both the verbal forms having been derived from one common root.

1. *pratīcakṣva-vicakṣva* (104.25 ab) :

praticakṣva vicakṣvendraśca soma jāgṛtam |

[" Look out, look everywhere, O Soma, you and Indra keep awake. "]

Prefixes are different; they are joined to one verbal form *cakṣva* which is derived from the root *cakṣ* ' to see '.

2. *vitirāti-pratireta* (58.3 cd) :

gato nādhvā vi tirāti jantum, pra ṇaḥ spārhābhirūtibhistireta ||

[" Just as a troden path may advance a creature (i.e. a traveller) so may you further us with your enviable favours. "]

Both the verbal forms have been derived from one root ' *tṛ* ' ' to pass ' and dissimilar prefixes *vi* and *pra* are added to it.

X. Similar suffixes, dissimilar words :

Some times, it is found that one identical suffix is added to two different word forms; thus giving a word-pair.

1. *aśvāvad-rathavad* (27.5 c) :

gomad aśvāvad rathavad vyanto, yūyam pāta svastibhiḥ sadā naḥ |

[" (a gift) consisting of cows, horses, and chariots. . . "]

Both the above words are formed with the possessive suffix *vat*. The suffix *mat* in *gomat* may also be noted. Cf. also 77.5 (*gomadaśvāvad rathavacca rādhaḥ*).

2. *devatrā-martyatrā* (52.1 ab) :

ādityāso aditayaḥ syāma, pūrdevatrā vasavo martyatrā |

[" May we be free from bonds (like) the Ādityas themselves; (you are) our defending wall among both the gods and the men, O gods ! "]

tra is common in both the words.

3. *vājayuḥ-gavyuḥ-hiraṇyuḥ* (31.3) :

tvaṁ na indra vājayus, tvaṁ gavyuḥ śatakrato |
tvaṁ hiraṇyayurvaso ||

[" You seek to win rewards for us, O Indra; you desire the cows (for us), O Śatakratu. You long for gold (for us), O god. "]

All the three substantives are formed with one suffix *yu.*

4. *svadhāvarī-sayāvarī* (31.7; 8) :

mahān utāsi yasya te'nu svadhāvarī sahaḥ |
mamnāte indra rodasī || 7 ||

taṁ tvā marutvatī pari, bhuvad vāṇī sayāvarī |
nakṣamāṇā saha dyubhiḥ || 8 ||

[" And surely you are great, since the self-reliant Heaven and Earth acknowledge of your power, O Indra(7). May our hymn always wait upon you, having befriended the Maruts and accompanying you wherever you go and clinging to you together with the days. "]

varī is common in both the words. It is to be noted that this word-pair occurs in two subsequent *mantras*.

XI. Two different roots, one identical verbal form :

Although found only once, this is a peculiar word-pair in which both the members of the pair look identical, even though they are derived from two different roots.

1. *āvaḥ-āvaḥ* (75.1)

vyuṣā āvo divijā ṛtenā'viṣkṛṇvānā mahimānamāgāt |
apa druhastama āvarajuṣṭamaṅgirastamā pathyā ajīgaḥ ||

[" The heaven-born Uṣas has shone brightly according to *Ṛta*, disclosing her greatness, she has come. She has uncovered (and has chased away) the evil spirits and the hated darkness; the best among the Aṅgirases has awakened the paths (of men and god.) "]

Both are verbal forms. They look identical, though they are not. The first verb *āvaḥ* has been derived from the root *vas* ' to shine '; the second verb *āvaḥ* has been derived from the root *vṛ* ' to cover ' (with *upa* ' to uncover ').

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PARKINSON'S THIRD LAW AND THE STATE OF DEVELOPMENT OF GEOMETRY AS GIVEN IN ŚULBASŪTRAS

By

R. P. KULKARNI *

" Expansion means complexity, and complexity decay. " This is the third law of Parkinson.[1] The ritual of fire-worship increased considerably from pre-Ṛgvedic to Śrautasūtra period but there appears to be no corresponding increase in the knowledge of geometry, particularly from Brāhmaṇa to Śrauta sūtra period.

The period of *Ṛgveda* is stated to be B.C. 2500, period of Brāhmaṇas, particularly of later Brāhmaṇas like *Śatapatha*, is stated to be B C. 1500 and that of *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* to be the same. Period of *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* is said to be 800 B.C. whereas that of *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* is A.D. 400.

Before the Ṛgvedic period, it is supposed that only three fire places were used for the worship of different gods through Agni.[2] By the Ṛgvedic period, the ritual of fire sacrifice was expanded so much as to evolve Soma sacrifice with three *savanas*. Sixteen numbers of priests were required to perform this complicated sacrifice. By the Brāhmaṇa period and surely by the period of S. P. Br., *sa-citika* Soma sacrifice, not only with the construction of *citis* of different shapes was evolved, but also the state of development of geometry was correspondingly increased so as to enable to pile the *citis* with areas increasing from $7\frac{1}{2}$ sq. *puruṣas* to $101\frac{1}{2}$ sq. *puruṣas* by adding the area of one sq. *puruṣa* successively.[14] Later, the ritual of fire sacrifice was further expanded and became so much complicated that Śrautasūtras describing the procedure of ritual in short and succint manner were written. Rājasūya sacrifice, as described in K. Śr. S., may be given as an example of expansion in the activity of sacrifices. Different sacrifices that have to be performed for the accomplishment of a Rājasūya sacrifice for the crowning ceremony of a king are as given below :—

(i) Cāturmāsya[3], (ii) Two paśubandha sacrifices, (iii) Atirātra Soma sacrifices, (iv) Four Soma sacrifices each at an interval of one month, (v) Vyuṣṭi-Dvirātra sacrifice, (vi) Agniṣṭoma and Atirātra sacrifices, (vii) Soma sacrifice called Kṣatra-dhṛti, (viii) Before and after Kṣatra-dhṛti a Triṣṭoma and Jyotiṣṭoma or Agniṣṭoma sacrifices, (ix) Caraka-Sautrāmaṇi, (x) A paśubandha sacrifice with three *yūpas*[4] etc. Total numbers of *iṣṭis* to be offered are 449.

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Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra is stated to be the earliest one and *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* is said to be the latest one, relatively. A period of almost 1500 years is elapsed between them. One notices that almost all the development in the knowledge of geometry took place by the period of Brāhmaṇas as the state of knowledge of geometry as revealed from the study of *Baudhāyana Śulbasūtra* seems to have been developed earlier than that Śulbasūtra. Śulbasūtrakāras later that Baudhāyana made almost no contribution in the development of geometry. For a period of almost 2000 years (B.C. 1500 to A.D. 400), the knowledge of geometry was almost stagnant.

Baudhāyana Śulbasūtra gives following pertinent information on the state of knowledge of geometry. The information is stated by him such a mature manner that one may infer that the knowledge of geometry might have been developed earlier than that Śulbasūtra.

(1) The statement defining the theorom of right angled triangle, i.e., the so called Pythagoras theorom, as given by Baudhāyana was not improved by even Kātyāyana. This could be ascertained from the *sūtra*s given by different Ācāryas. These *sūtra*s are given below.

Dīrghacaturasrayākṣṇayārajjuḥ pārśvamānī tiryaṅmānī ca yatpṛthagbhūte kurutastadubhayaṃ karoti || B. Śu. S 1.48 ||

Dīrghasyākṣṇayārajjuḥ pārśvamānī tīryaṅmānī ca yatpṛthgabhūte kurutastadubhayam karoti || Ā Śu.S. 1.8 || *Dīrghacaturasrasyākṣṇayārajjustiryaṅmānī pārśvamānī ca yatpṛthagbhūte kurutastadubhyayam karotīti kṣetrajñānaṃ* || K. Śu. S. 2.11 ||

The wording is same. Kātyāyana only added that this statement is applicable to areas (*Kṣetrajñānaṃ*). But none of the Ācāryas thought it necessary to clarify that this theorom is applicable, to state correctly, for the areas of squares on the sides of the right angled triangle and not for those of a rectangle. In fact it is rather astonishing to note that, although the use of this theorom is made very ingeniously by different Ācāryas for giving layouts for different *vedis* etc., the word right angled triangle is not to be found in any one of the Śulbasūtras.

Baudhāyana gives the value of $\sqrt{-2}$ in the series form as given below :—

$$\sqrt{2} = 1 + \tfrac{1}{3} + 1/(3 \times 4) = 1/(3 \times 4 \times 34).$$

The value given is so accurate that it was not improved upon even in modern times.

(3) Baudhāyana[5] had given the value of $\pi = 3.088$. This is inaccurate value but it was not improved even by Kātyāyana.[6] It is Āryabhaṭa[7] I (A.D. 476) who had given accurate value of $\pi = 62832/2000$.

(4) The relationship between the length of a side of square of area equal to that of a circle of a given diameter is given by Baudhāyana[8] as

$$X = D\left(\frac{7}{8} + \frac{1}{8 \times 29} - \frac{1}{8 \times 29 \times 6} + \frac{1}{8 \times 29 \times 6 \times 8}\right)$$

Where X = length of the side of the desired square,

and D = Diameter of the given circle.

None of the later Śulbasūtrakāras mentioned this series. But the approximate relationship between these two parameters, again given by Baudhāyana[9], seems to have appealed more to later Śulbasūtrakāras as each of them had mentioned it.[10], [11]. This approximate relation is $X = (13/15)\,D$.

(5) The construction to draw a circle of area equal to that of a given square is given by Baudhāyana and other Ācāryas as given below.

Caturasraṃ maṇḍalaṃ cikīrṣannakṣṇyārdhaṃ madhyātprācimabhyapātayet yad atiśiṣyate tasya sahatṛtīyena maṇḍalam parilikhet || B.Śu. S. 158. ||

Caturasraṃ maṇḍalaṃ cikīrṣan madhyāt koṭyāṃ nipātayet || Ā. Śu. S. 3.2 || *Pārṣvataḥ parikṛṣyatiśyatṛtīyena sahamaṇḍalaṃ parilikhet* || 3.3 || *Sā nityā maṇḍalaṃ* || 3.4 || *Yāvad dhīyate tāvadagāntu* || 3.5 ||.

Caturasraṃ maṇḍalam cikīrṣan madhyādaṁse nipātya pārśvataḥ parilikhya tatra yad atirictaṃ bhavati tasya tṛtīyena saha maṇḍalaṃ parilikhet sa samādhiḥ || K.Śu. S. 3.13. ||

Here again, there is no improvement in the construction, as suggested by Ācāryas later than Baudhāyana, as noted from the above given *sūtras*.

According to Datta, as given by Satyaprakash,[12] the three fire places are mentioned in *Ṛgveda* and he further stated that "Hence it seems that the problem of squaring of the circle and the theorom of the square of the hypotenuse (at least in its simplest form) are as old in India as the time of the *Ṛgveda*, they might be older still. For it has been shown by Oldenberg that these three fire places are earlier than *Ṛgveda*".

It is mentioned in B.Śu. S.[13] that the area of a *citi* to be piled for the first time shall be of area of 7½ sq. *puruṣas*. With repeat performance of Soma sacrifice with Agni-cayana, the area is to be increased by one sq. *puruṣa*. Thus area of the *citi* shall be 8½, 9½ etc. sq. *puruṣas*, with subsequent additional sacrifices. The maximum area to which a *citi* could be constructed is 101½ sq. *puruṣas*. This idea of constructing a *citi* of area as large as 101½ sq. *puruṣas* was known in the Brāhmaṇa period, Ś P.Br.[14] mentioned the measure of a *prakrama* so as to give layout of a Caturasra Śyena *citi* of 101½ sq. *puruṣas* area. The length of a *prakrama* is, ordinarily, 30 *aṅgulas*. But Ś.P.Br. mentioned that the length of a *prakrama* for giving the layout of a *citi* of 101½ sq. *puruṣas* area should be taken as 112.3 *aṅgula*s. The area of the *citi* by taking into account this magnitude of *prakrama* is 102.6 sq. *puruṣa*s. The error in the area is as small as 1.1 sq. *puruṣas*. To draw a similar figure, this is the standard practice, i.e. to give a proportionate scale, even by modern method. The magnitude of *prakrama* given by Kātyāyana[15] is 114.0 *aṅgula*s and the area of the *citi* is 108.25 sq. *puruṣa*s, the error being 6.75 sq. *puruṣa*s. It is to be noted that the measure of *prakrama* given by S.P.Br. is much more accurate than that given in K.Śr.S.

Baudhāyana,[16] as a methodical and scientifically minded man, is expected to give a table giving different scales of *prakrama*s for *citi*s of areas varying from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to $101\frac{1}{2}$ sq. *puruṣa*s. But instead, he gives a purely geometrical method of increasing the area of a *citi* by one sq. *puruṣa*. Same is the case with K.Śu.S. Kātyāyana[17] has given six methods for increasing the area of a *citi* of given area by one sq. *puruṣa* which add nothing in the knowledge of geometry. It should be said to be geometrical gymnasium and nothing more.

Baudhāyana gives the information regarding the layout and the arrangement of bricks for the below mentioned *citi*s.

(i) Gārhapatya *citi* with sq. shaped bricks, and another variant of it with rectangular bricks.

(ii) Caturasra Śyena *citi* using sq. shaped bricks and its variant with rectangular bricks.

(iii) Śyena *citi* of bird shape with square shaped bricks and its variant with rectangular bricks.

(iv) Kaṅka, (v) Alaja, (vi) Prauga, (vii) Ubhayataḥ Prauga, (viii) Solid wheel Rathacakra, (ix) Wheel with spokes-Sārā Rathacakra, (x) Square shaped and circular Droṇas (xi) Smaśāna, (xii) Vakrāṅgā and circular Kūrma *citis*.

Mānava Śulbasūtra gives information about layout and arrangement of bricks for three types of Caturasra Syena *citi*s and that of Sārā-Rathacakra *citi*. It gives layout of Śyena, Alaja and Kaṅka *citi*s but not the information on the arrangement of bricks for their piling. This Śulbasutra gives no information about remaining *citis* mentioned in B. Śu. S. Information about either the layout or arrangement of bricks for Kaṅka, Alaja, Sārā-Rathacakra *citi* and Kurma *citis* is not given in Ā.Śu.S. K.Śr.S. does not give any information regarding layout and arrangement of bricks for any of the *citi*s given by Baudhāyana except for Caturasra Śyena *citi*.

This shows that Ācāryas later than Baudhāyana not only not added any variety of *citis* but also not given different layouts and arrangement of bricks for many of the already known *citi*s. It may not be out of place here to mention that in case of Smārta *Kuṇḍas* and *vedis* 32 numbers of varieties were developed once *Līlāvatī* of Bhāskarācārya was written. Not less than five numbers of *Kuṇḍas*[18] of lotus shape were developed. This variety in the shape of *Kuṇḍas* could be evolved because of the spread of the knowledge of geometry as a lucidly written book of Bhāskarācārya was available. Every author of a book on *Kuṇḍas* gives the authority of *Līlāvati* to prove that the *Kuṇḍas* described by the author are correct with respect to their areas. On these lines, it is rather surprising to note that the Ācāryas later than Baudhāyana had not given any new types of *citi*s, say a rectangular *citi* or a star shaped *citi* that could be formed by entwining two equilateral triangles, or say a *citi* of hexagonal or octagonal etc shapes.

Moreover, the arrangement of bricks and their types for some of the *citi*s given by Baudhāyana are shown to be mathematically correct so that the arrangement of bricks, satisfying the conditions suggested by him, can not be improved upon. The different types of bricks and their arrangements for the piling of these *citi*s as suggested by other Ācāryas for these *citi*s are, therefore, inferior to these suggested by Baudhāyana. This point is elaborated as given below.

A square shaped Gārhapatya *citi* is to be piled by square shaped bricks. It should satisfy the following conditions :

(a) The *citi* shall be square shaped having area equal to one sq. *vyāyāma* and is to be constructed in five layers.

(b) There shall be 21 numbers of bricks in each layer.

(c) Bricks in different layers are to be arranged such that joints between bricks in adjoining layers shall not be in one line but are broken.

Srinivasaeingar[19] has shown by algebraical equations that the use of three types of square shaped bricks with side of lengths of 1/6th, 1/4th and 1/3rd of *vyāyāma* as suggested by Baudhāyana is the correct and the only solution to the above problem. He has further shown, by same method, that the types of square shaped bricks as given by Baudhāyana for the piling of a Caturasra Śyena *citi* is the correct and the only solution satisfying the below mentioned conditions for its construction.

(a) The area of ātman is four sq. *puruṣas*, that of each wing 1 1/5 sq. *puruṣas* and that of tail 1 1/10 sq. *puruṣas*, the total area of the *citi* being $7\frac{1}{2}$ sq. *puruṣas*.

(b) Numbers of bricks in each layer shall be 200.

(c) Arrangement of bricks shall be symmetrical.

(d) The joints between the bricks of adjoining layers shall be broken.

It is to be pointed out that Baudhāyana had no knowledge of algebra as given by Srinivasaiengar as otherwise other Ācāryas like Mānava, Āpastamba would not have attempted, that too unsuccessfully, to pile a Caturasra Śyena *citi* with sq. bricks having different arrangements, satisfying the above conditions.

As fine chiselling and carving instead of bold and beautiful designs in architecture are taken as signs of decay in that art, in the similar manner, one could state that increase in the numbers of bricks, their types for the construction of the same *citis* but of arrangement of bricks different than those suggested by Baudhāyana is the sign of decay in the knowledge of geometry. To cite two examples, the numbers of bricks in each layer and the total numbers of bricks for Caturasra Śyena *citi* as suggested by Mānava and Kātyāyana are given in the table below. It is to be noted that neither the numbers of bricks in different layers is same nor, for the same type of *citi*, the total numbers of bricks is same. Knowledge of geometry seems to have not been utilised by these Ācāryas for designing these *citis*.

TABLE

Nos. of bricks in each layer and total Nos. of bricks according to M.Śu.S

	Nos. of bricks per layer		Total Nos. of bricks in five layers
	I Layer	II Layer	
Caturasra Śyena *citi*			
Type I	200	200	1000
Type II	306	269	1456
Type III	476	429	2286

According to K.Śr.S.

Caturasra Śyena *citi*	Nos. of bricks
I layer	2006
II layer	1991
III layer	2020
IV layer	1997
V layer	3056
Total numbers	11070

The total numbers of bricks in a *citi* is increased from 1000 to 10,000, a tenfold increase.

In view of the evidences given above, could one surmise that there was no development in the knowledge of geometry from Ś.P.Br. to K.Śr.S. Ācāryas neither tried to evolve *citis* of different shapes nor they could improve upon the layout and construction of different *citis* as given by Baudhāyana.

There is another angle to look at this fact. Could it be said that the Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras were written almost at the same time. Brāhmaṇas elaborate and explain every step of the ritual of sacrifices as to why those perticular steps are necessary for performing a particular sacrifice, whereas Śrautasūtras are the working manuals for the performance of sacrifices. The logic of different steps of the sacrifices was developed earlier and accordingly the steps to be followed for conducting a sacrifice were decided in Brāhmaṇas and the Śrautasūtras simply enumerated them in *sūtra* form. The period elapsed between Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras might be counted in some tens of years rather than hundreds of years as is supposed. This point of view seems to give logical understanding of the fact that there was no progress in the knowledge of geometry from Brāhmaṇa to Śrautasūtra period. A detailed study of Brāhmaṇa and Śrautasūtra of each of different *śākhas* of Yajurveda, say *Taittirīya Br.* and B.Śr.S. or Ś.P.Br. and K.Śr,S., should be undertaken with a view that the *mantras* and the action accompanying these *mantras* as well as the sequence of all these steps for each and every type of sacrifice as given in a Brāhmaṇa and the corresponding Śr.S. are almost same or otherwise. This study may help to solve the problem of the period elapsed between Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras.

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SACRED THREAD : ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT – II

By

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Preliminary

In our previous attempt[1] we dealt with the origin of the sacred thread, its gradual development, size, mystification etc. in a comprehensive manner. Initiating our discussion right from the Vedic *Saṁhitās*, we proceeded through the *Gṛhyasūtras*, *Dharmaśāstras*, *Smṛtis* etc. and ended it with the modern texts like *Smṛticandrikā* and *Vīramitrodaya*. But the discussion had its own limitations. Firstly, it was restricted to the Indian, to be particular, Vedic and post-Vedic traditions. Secondly, we could not explore the situation that was prevailing in the pre-Vedic era. Thus, in this paper, we propose to broaden the scope by comparing the Aryan way of initiation with that of the ancient Iranian, more accurately. Persian tradition for, as is well known, both the cultures are akin to each other in many a respect viz. linguistic, socio-cultural and religious approaches. Such a comparative study is extremely important from two standpoints: (1) We can explore the tradition of the Indo-Iranians which, it is often suggested, is the common source of both the cultures—Aryan and Iranian, (2) Investigation about the nature of initiation in the pre-Vedic period will be possible. Our discussion will concentrate on two focal points : (1) A historical survey of the meaning and nature of *Upanayana* ceremony, (2) *mekhalā* or girdle as a sign of initiation in Aryan as well as Iranian cultures.

0.1. *Upanayona : A Historical Survey of its Meaning*

Upanayana ceremony appears to have been handed down to us, in all probability,[2] almost in tact. Since it has been alluded to in a number of Vedic treatises, with greater surety it can be opined that the ceremony dates back to the down of Vedic civilization. The sacrament of initiation (*Upanayana*) has been variously termed. They are *upanayana*, *upāyana*. *mauñjibandhana*, *Vratabandha*, *baṭukāraṇa* etc. A careful study of these names does not reveal any clue whatsoever regarding their connection with a bunch of threads. Some of them rather refer to a *muñja mekhalā* (a girdle made of *muñja* grass), a *vrata* which are generally tied around the waist or wrist of a person respectively. The term *upanayana* has also been variously interpreted. Etymologically it means " taking (the pupil) near (the *ācārya* for instruction)." Thus this ceremony as an

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educational *saṁskāra* has been mentioned in more than a dozen texts. *Vīramitrodaya* (p. 334) quoting the opinion of Bhāradvāja says: " *Upānayākhyaṁ yat karma vidyārthaṁ tad udīritam.*" That means " The action known as *Upanayana* is meant for learning." *Hiraṇyakeśī Gṛhyasūtra* (I.5.2) makes it more clear in its passage : " *athainam abhivyāhārayati, brahma caryamāgām upa mā nayasva brahmacārī bhavāni devena savitrā prasutaḥ* " (The teacher makes the boy utter, I have come unto Brahmacarya, lead me near (initiate me into it). Let me be a student impelled by the god savitṛ.)

Kāṭhaka Gṛhyasūtra (41.1) uses the word *Upāyana* for *Upanayana*. It states—"*saptame varṣe brāhmaṇasyopāyanam* ". (The initiation of a Brāhmaṇa should be done in the seventh year from his birth.) Devapāla's commentary on this *sūtra* explains : "*janmanaḥ prabhṛti saptame varṣe garbhāṣṭame brāhmaṇasyopāyanam ācāryasamīpagamanamekhalābandhanasaṁskāraḥ pradhānabhūtaḥ* ". It also records various names used for *Upanayana* quoted above.

Explaining the term *Upanayana Saṁskāraprakāśa* says: " *tatropanayanaśabdaḥ karmanān adheyam / tac ca yaugikam udbhindyāyāt / yogaś ca bhāvavyutpattyā karaṇavyutpattyā vety āha bhāruciḥ / sa yathā upa samīpe ācāryādīnāṁ nayanaṁ prāpaṇam upanayanam samīpe ācāryādīnāṁ nīyate baṭur yena tad upanayanam iti vā / .. tatra ca bhāvavyutpattir eva sādhīyasīti gamyate / śrautārthavidhisaṁbhavāt //* " The meaning precisely is—" It's the name of an action. It is also a *yaugika*[3] type of word. Such a word can be derived either in *bhāva* (action) or in *karaṇa* (*instrumental*) sense. First one refers to taking the *baṭu* near the *ācārya* for initiation. Second one is a ritual by which the *baṭu* is taken to the *ācārya*. But the first one is preferable since it has got the sanction of the Vedic injunction (*Śrautārthavidhi saṁbhavāt*). *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* (I. 1.1.19) appears to be supporting the second meaning, but clearly refers to *upanayana* as a ceremony of imparting *Śrutijñāna*. From this it seems that with the advent of an extensive ritual system in the post-*saṁhitā* period, to be particular, during the time of the *Brāhmaṇas*, the second meaning (meaning a ritual) evolved. *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* states that a brāhmin should be initiated with *Gāyatrī*. Jaimini[4] also espouses the same view. All this clearly vindicates our contention that *Upanayana* was principally an educational reform, meant for imparting some knowledge to a pupil. This was open to the first three *varṇas* (classes) namely Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya. The reason behind the selection of *Gāyatrī* for initiating a brahmin (cf *Kāt. śr. sū.*) is not difficult to ascertain. Aparārka quoting *Vasiṣṭha Dh. Sū* (IV. 3) says that Brahmā created Brāhmaṇas with *Gāyatrī*, the Kṣatiryas with *Triṣṭubh* and the Vaiśyas with *Jagatī*. Now the reason is discovered. Since the three classes were created by these three, their being initiated by them is quite likely. So the initiation of a Brahmin with *Gāyatrī* has been enjoined. Now the fact that *Upanayana* was primarily and principally an educational *saṁskāra* is established. However, no other explanation of the term *Upanayana* would be totally out of context. Some scholars are of the view that *Upanayana* was originally performed for initiating a boy into the art of hunting or archery.[5] But according to us such a sense is only partial and does not bring about the full sense of the term *Upanayana*. Later on we will show how different types of *mekhalā*s were used to initiate different *varṇa*s. A number of *Gṛhyasūtra*s (see section 0.3) prescribe a *mekhalā* of *muñja* grass for a *Brāhmaṇa* and a *mekhalā* of *mūrvā* grass for a *Kṣatriya*. A *mekhalā* of *mūrvā* grass is also used as a string of a bow which is generally used for archery. This proves that *Upanayana* meaning archery is limited in sense and such a sense is applicable only to the *Kṣatriya* class. It can never be extended to all the three classes. Anyway it refers to initiation into some sort of education, does not matter whether it is imparting a *mantra* or initiating into archery. From the above discussion it is established now that *Upanayana* was originally meant for initiating a novice to studenthood.

0.2. *Upanayana : A survey of its nature in Vedic treatises :*

It is well known that the *Gṛhyasūtras* systematized the *saṁskāras*, but the origin of these *saṁskāra*s is really found in the Vedas, although in a crude form. So far as *upanayana* is concerned, we come across a Passage in the *Ṛgveda*[6] referring to such traditions. A sacirficial post (*Yūpa*) has been praised as a young lad in the following way—" Here comes the lad, nicely dressed and encircled (the youth by his *mekhalā* and the post by *rasanā* or rope); he, when born, attains eminence, wise sages, full of devotion to the gods in their hearts and entertaining happy thoughts, raise him up." Two words are of prime importance in this context. Firstly, the word *parivīta* is having the same root (*Pari* + √*vye* + *kta*) as *upavita* (*upa* + √*vye* + *kta*). Secondly, *un nayanti* and *upanayana* have their root in the same root (√*ni*). *Parivita* refers to a girdle (*Pari* meaning around + √*vye* to move=that which moves around). Several discripancies are found regarding the employment of this *mantra*. Thus it shows that the later *proyogakāras* were not sure regarding its application. For example, the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (I.20.8) employs this *mantra* for making the boy circumambulate the fire. On the other side *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* (II.2) employs it while tying the girdle around the boy's waist. Anyway one moving around is seen. *Atharvaveda* (XI.7) sheds much light further on this subject. It says : " The teacher leading (the boy) near him makes the *brahmacārī* like unto a foetus (mark the word *unnayati* in the text)." The following verses mention *mekhalā*, *samidh*, *ajīna* etc. which are exclusively connected with *Upanayana*.

In the Upaniṣadic period the nature of *upanayana* was very simple. There is no elaborate ceremony as seen in the *Gṛhyasūtras*. Regarding *upanayana*

Chāndogya Upaniṣad (V.11. 7) says—"*te ha samītpāṇayaḥ pūrvāhṇe praticakramire tān hānupanīyaivaitad uvāca.*" A boy approaches a teacher with some faggots in his hand in the early morning and requests him to initiate. That's all what constituted *upanayana* during that period. It must be noted here that the *brahmacārin* pupil was looking after the preceptor by collecting faggots (for *homa*), fuel (for cooking), *kuśa* grass (for sacrificial use), alms (for food) etc. so as to repay his *ṛṣirṇa* (debt towards the *ṛṣi*). We have a passage in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*[7] (VI.3.10.5) referring to the three debts one is required to repay as soon as he borns. The three debts are *ṛṣirṇa*, *devarṇa* and *pitṛṛṇa*. Debt towards seer (*ṛṣirṇa*) can be paid by maintaining celibacy (*brahmacarya*), debt towards *devas* (*devarṇa*) can be paid by performing sacrifice, and by producing offsprings *pitṛṛṇa* (debt towards the ancestors) can be paid. In the *upanayana* ceremony one is initiated to studenthood and during that period one must maintain celibacy. Thus *upanayana* was open only to the *brahmacārins* so as to enable them to pay the *ṛṣirṇa*. During that period they were imparted the vedic lore. No sign of sacred thread is seen there. What we see as to sign of initiation is a *mekhalā* and not a cord of threads. Now we will turn to a historical survey of *mekhalā* in Aryan as well as Iranian traditions.

0.3. *Mekhalā in Aryan and Iranian Traditions :*

(i) *Aryan*: *Gautama Dharmasūtra* (I.15), *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (I.19.11.), *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (II.5.13), *Manusmṛti* (II.42) and so many other texts prescribe that a girdle of *muñja* grass should be tied around a Brāhmin boy's waist, one made of *mūrvā* grass for a Kṣatriya and of an hemp cords for a Vaiśya. *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*[8] (I. 1.2.34-37) refers to *mekhalā*s made of different substances for different *varṇa*s (classes). But without exception all of them refer to a *mekhalā* while many of them are reticent about a cord of threads. We have shown in our previous article how the commentators had openly declared that this cord of threads did not constitute a practice at that time.[9]

In *Śrauta* ritual also we see that *mekhalā* is used while initiating the *yajamāna* in the sacrifice. Thus in the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice a *mekhalā* is tied around the waist of the *Yajamāna*. His wife is initiated with a *Yoktra*. *Taittirīya Saṁhita* (6.1.3) explicitly states that—*mekhalayā yajamānaṁ dīkṣayati, yoktreṇa patnīm.* Sāyaṇa while commenting on *Tai. Saṁ.* (1.2.2.) explains *mekhalā* and *yoktra* in the following way: Firstly he quotes the *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* (10.9 8-14)—*Śaramayī mauñjī vā mekhalā trivṛt pṛthvyanyataḥ pāśā / tayā yajamānaṁ dikṣayati / yoktreṇa patnīm* " /. He explains it as *rajjusadṛśī mekhalā, jaṭāsadṛśī yoktram* / Thus it is crystal clear that even in the *śrauta* rituals, *mekhalā* was used for initiation. Thus *mekhalā* as a sign of initiation is an age old practice.

(ii) In Greek Mythology Orion (*mārgaśīrṣa*), one of the constellations, is found to be placed among stars where it appears as a giant with a girdle, sword, a lion's skin and a club.[10]

(iii) *Iranian*—The *Avesta*, the religious text of the Parsees, has recorded an important reference regarding the sacred girdle. In Yasna Hā Ix, verse 26, known as Haoma Yast, it refers to a *mekhalā*. , Haoma of the Iranians is exactly the Soma of the Vedas. The hymn where the *mekhalā* is mentioned is related to the Haoma. The verse goes like this " *Frā-te Mazdā baraṭ paurvanīm aiwyaṅhanām stehdr-paēsanham mainyūtāśtam, Vanūhim daēnam Māzdayasnīm at aiṅhe ahi aiwyāstō barṣnuś paiti gairinam drājanne aiwidā itisca gravasca maroahe*." It may be translated as "Forth for thee did Mazdā bring the sacred girdle (*aiwyā°nhana*—skt-*abhyāsana*) star-studded, woven by the two spirits—(the girdle which is) the excellent Religion of Mazdā worship. Since that time invested with this (girdle), thou art (dwelling) on the tops of the mountains in order to prescribe the words and secrets of the Holy spell—mara ".[11] The description refers to the Haoma which was sitting on the mountain top being encircled by a natural girdle made of bright stars. This vestan *aiwyānhana* (meaning a girdle) is still found as a sign of initiation among the Parsees. The girdle is now known as *Kustik*, a pahlavi or middle Persian word. It exactly corresponds to our *mekhalā*. The ceremony in which they are invested with this girdle is called *navjot* (skt. *navajāta* :— new born/birth). As we see in our Aryan tradition that an upper garment is put on during sacrificial performances of which the modern cord of threads is the representative, a sacred shirt, called *sadreh* is also put on by the modern Parsees. Regarding the substance which was used in those days to make an *aiwyā°nhana* we don't get any reference in the *Avesta*. But now-a-days the *Kustik* is made of Seventytwo Cotton threads. The number seventytwo is totally arbitrary. But from such references one factor becomes crystal clear that *mekhalā* continued—and still continues–as the sign of initiation in the Indo-Iranian tradition. There was no cord of threads at that time. While it has been retained by both Aryan and Iranians, an additional object, i.e. *Upavīta* has slowly entered into practice.

B. G. Tilak, in his book *Orion*[12] gives another explanation of the term '*yajñopavītam*'. He construes it in the following ways : 1) *yajñasya Upavītam* (*upavīta* of *yajña*) and 2) *yajña upavītam* (*upavīta* for *yajña*). He assiduously proves that Mārgaśirṣa is called Prajāpati in the Vedas, otherwise known as *Yajña*. He is of the opinion that a girdle or a piece of cloth around the waist of that is called *Yajñopavīta*, or the cloth *yajña*. While both *yajñasya upavītam* and *yajñāya upavītam* are correct, the authority lies with former. The *mantra*—*yajñopavītam paramaṁ pavitram prajāpater yat sahajaṁ purastāt | āvuṣyam agryaṁ pratimuñca śubhraṁ yajñopavitaṁ tu balam astu tejaḥ* (found in the *Brahmopaniṣad* and not found in any vedic text) is now employed to put a cord of threads on the shoulder of a brahmin. The *mantra* precisely means : " This sacred thread is the most sacred one, it was born along with the Prajāpati in the early days. Let that *yajñopavitan* when invested bestow on as long life and prowess ".[13]

Thus the construction of the term *yajñopavitam* as " *Upavita* of *yajña* i.e. Prajāpati carries some weight. But it still needs some investigations.

Conclusion :

From the above discussion we have come to the following conclusion :

(1) Originally *mekhalā* was the real sign of initiation.

(2) In a very later date, probably during the fag end of the period to which the *Gṛhyasūtras* belong, an upper garment was appended to it.

(3) In still more later times this *uppar* garment was replaced by a cord of threads. Slowly and gradually, a cord of threads attained prominence. Even though the investiture of the *mekhalā* still continues, the sacred thread has become the focus of modern *Upanayana* ceremony.

Notes and References

1. The first part of this paper is published in issue of the *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.* Vol. 39, Nos. 1-2, (pp. 15-23).

2. We have deliberately used the word ' probability ' because we really come across some deviations from the original practice in today's *Upanayana*.

3. Words can be grouped under two major heads : (1) *Yaugika* (etymological or derivational) and (2) *rūḍha* (conventional non-derivational) However, Nyäya system of Indian logic admits another two : (1) *yogārūḍha* and (2) *yaugikārūḍha*.

4. Jaimini VI. 1.35—*saṁskārasya tad arthatvāt vidyāyāṁ puruṣośrutiḥ* / See Śabara's *bhāṣya* on this.

5. AMALNERKAR, T. R. : *A Note on Yajñopavita*, Newual Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1910, p. 43.

6. *Ṛgveda* III. 8.4—*yuvā suvāsāḥ parivīta āgāt sa u śreyān bhavati jāyamānaḥ / taṁ dhīrāsah kavaya un nayanti svādhvo manasā devayantaḥ //*

7. *jāyamāno ha vai brāhmaṇaḥ tribhir ṛṇavān jāyate, brahmacaryeṇa ṛṣibhyaḥ yajñena devebhyaḥ prajayā pitṛbhyaḥ eṣa vā anṛṇo yaḥ putrī vajvā vā brahmacārī /*

8. *jyā rājanyasya mauñjī vāyomiśrā, āvīsūtraṁ vaiśyaśva, sairī tāmalī vety eke* (Tāmala means hemp (*śaṇa*)).

9. *yady api sūtrakāreṇa yajñopavitadhāraṇaṁ na sūtritam* . . . (Harihara on *Pāraskara Gṛ. Sūtra* 2.2).

10. See Smith's Dictionary on Classical Mythology.

11. KANGA, M. F. : *Avesta Reader*, Vaidika Samshodhana Mandala, Poona, 1988, pp. 52-53.
12. TILAK, B. G. : *Orion*, Fourth Edition, Poona, 1955, pp. 150-65.
13. But commentators are of the opinion the *prati* + *muñca* refers to ' tying ' (around !) (*bandhanārthaḥ*).

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ECOLOGY IN ANCIENT INDIA (A NOTE)

By

G. V. TAGARE*

An attempt to trace the concept of Ecology in Purāṇas may appear like the search for the proverbial non-existent black cat in a dark room. The Industrial Age was far off in the Future. People did not suffer from the disastrous effects of industrial wastes, pollutants etc. Even we became aware of them after the sixties of this century. The Man : Land ratio then was highly satisfactory. India was then covered with luxuriant forest teeming with wild animals both herbivorous and carnivorous. People had to find out or make a clearing for arable land. Pāṇḍavas had to burn down Khāṇḍava forest to get space for their new capital Indraprastha.

Even in later period, in Jātaka Tales (J.T.), we find forests surrounding cities like Vārāṇasī (J.T. 222, 224), Ayodhyā (J.T. 199), the Himalayan region (J.T. 1/4, 254), the banks of the Gaṅgā (J.T. 09). Old Purāṅas which are regarded as contemporaneous with Jātaka Tales describe a similar state of India.

But the Science of Ecology is not limited to human environment as some people think. It is vitally concerned with plant-life and animal-life as well. We find that Purāṇa-writers were instinctively aware of the internal identity—the element of life—in Man, Animals and Plants. It was a credulous age. People believed in *Karma* theory and the existence of life after death in which one has to suffer for his actions in Hell. So Purāṇa-writers describe the merit derived from planting trees. Some plants such as Tulasī, Bilva, Mandāra were regarded as dear to some gods. The *Skanda Purāṇa* describes the legend of the previous birth of the Tulasī plant so appealingly that practically every Hindu home has a Tulasī plant for worship. The *Padma Purāṇa, Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa* shows sage Pulastya advising the *Mahābhārata*-hero Bhīṣma on the meritorious efficacy of planting trees as follows (in chapter 28).

" Planting trees leads to life in heaven as long as myriads of Indras rule and saves from falling in hell a man's past and future generations equal to the number of hairs on his (Tree-planter's) body (Verses 19-20). The Purāṇa further recommends a list of some 18 trees such as Aśvattha, Aśoka, Khadira,

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* 3, Govt. Colony Sangli, 416415.

Nimba, Coconuts and others and as an incentive for tree-plantation, promises various periods of stay in heaven as a fruit of that meritorious act. It concludes: " These trees and those that are not mentioned here confer various objects and tree-planters attain high position " (Verse 52).

As to the preservation of animal-life, Purāṇas countered the Mīmāṁsaka's defence of *Hiṁsā* in sacrifice by stories like that of Uparicara Vasu who had to suffer fall from Heaven to Pātāla due to his decision in favour of *Hiṁsā* in sacrifices (*Mahābhārata—Śānti* 337. 13-16; *Vāyu P.* I. 57.103-111 *Skanda* etc.). *Ahiṁsā* was the first and foremost *Yama* in Yoga.

It will thus be found that Purāṇa-writers were aware of the necessity of maintaing a balance in Human, Animal and Plant life in Nature and they tried to explain in a language appealing to people of that credulous age.

A NOTE ON THE ABSENCE OF JĀTAKA THEMES IN EARLY WESTERN INDIAN SCULPTURE

By

MADHAVI J. ATHALYE*

When one surveys the entire range of sculpture of the *Hīnayāna* period from the Western Indian caves, a curious fact emerges—that there is not a single representation of a *Jātaka* at any of the sites. Most of the sculptures are those of *Yakṣa*s, *Yakṣī*s, *Dvārapāla*s *Gajalakṣmī*s, *Mithuna* figures, animals with riders etc. Of the few reliefs from Pitalkhora, one has been identified as an *Abhiniṣkramaṇa* scene, and one as that of Prince Siddhārtha with his consort. The Bhaja reliefs too are interpreted as either representing 'Day and Night' or as 'King Māndhātā in Uttarakuru'. The other relief of various animal figures on the bench in the *vihāra* has not been identified as yet, at least not as a *Jātaka*.

How does one explain this curious phenomenon, especially when at other *Hīnayāna* Buddhist sites such as Barhut, Sanchi, Jaggayyapeta, Nagarjuna Konda, Amaravati, the *Jātaka*s form one of the major themes for the sculptures? At Sanchi and at the Krishna Valley sites, the *Jātaka* stories are extensively and elaborately depicted. One is aware that there were trade-routes connecting all the Buddhist sites during this period and that there was hectic activity along these routes, so it is expected that ideas, stories and artistic motifs too should logically travel from one region to the other.

One simple reason for this phenomenon could be that the *Jātakas* are mostly represented on the *vedikā*s and *toraṇa*s of structural *stūpa*s only and the caves do not have a single structural *stūpa*.[1] The caves in Western India are mostly *caityagṛha*s and *vihāra*s, and the *stūpa*s within them were usually votive and monolithic. But this explanation is not really satisfactory, for had they wanted to, the excavators of the Western Indian caves were perfectly capable of hewing out monolithic *stūpa*s as beautifully embellished with *vedikā*s, *toraṇa*s and figural sculptures as the ones at Sanchi and in the Krishna Valley. Even the *stūpa*s which are outside the *caitya*s, as at Bhaja, Kanheri and Karle, are as simple and unadorned as the ones inside the *caitya*s.

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[1] Nagaraju S., *Buddhist Architecture of Western India*, Delhi, 1981, p. 12.

Moreover, the *Jātaka* scenes could have been easily carved on the inner walls of the *caityas* or *vihāras*, as certain reliefs have been carved above the *vihāra* doorways of the Khandagiri-Udayagiri caves in Orissa.[2]

Putting all these facts together, one comes to the conclusion that the *bhikṣus* who lived in these caves *did not want Jātaka* scenes to be carved in the cave premises, or in other words, there was a strict ban imposed on the use of *Jātaka* themes. This leads one to the conjecture that these *bhikṣus* belonged to those sects of Buddhism that did not subscribe to the utilization of *Jātaka* stories for the propagation of their ideas.

Most of the information that we have about the distribution of various Buddhist sects throughout India between 200 B.C. to A.D. 200 has been garnered from a few inscriptions and Chinese and Sinhalese translations of some early Buddhist texts.[3] But the sources are helpful in the specific location of sects only from the first century A.D. onwards, and we are still in the dark as to the situation in the pre-Christian era.

It is known that a rather liberal group of sects, viz. the *Mahāsāṅghikas* dwelled in large numbers in the Krishna Valley. This region is also given the credit of being the place of origin of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. Other sects were fairly widely distributed throughout Central and Eastern India.

About Western India, the inscriptions in some of the later *Hīnayāna* caves (c.A.D. 100 onwards) mention the names of the sects of monks who resided there. The names of the six sects which are mentioned and their distribution is as follows :[4]

1. *Bhadrāyaṇīya :* Nasik cave 3, Lüders List (henceforth referred to as L.L.) Nos. 1123, 1124, dated c.A D. 130-159; Kanheri, L.L. 987, L.L. 1018 dated c.A.D. 174-203.
2. *Dharmottarīya :* Karle *caitya*, L.L. 1094, L.L. 1095; Junnar L.L. 1152.
3. *Mahāsāṅghika :* Karle *caitya*, L.L. 1100, L.L. 1105, L.L. 1106.
4. *Caityaka :* Nasik cave 8, L.L. 1130; Junnar L.L. 1171.
5. *Aparaśailya :* Kanheri cave 65, L.L. 1020, c. 3rd century A.D.
6. *Sammitīya :* Junnar-Manmodi group cave 26, (this name was discovered by Shobhana Gokhale in her reinterpretation of this inscription).[5]

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[2] For example, see, reliefs in *Rani-ki-Gumphā*, *Gaṇeśa Gumphā*.

[3] For instance, the *Dīpavaṁśa*, the *Sammitīya-nikāya-śāstra*, the *Kathāvatthu* and its commentary by Buddhaghoṣa.

[4] Most of this information has been provided by Nalinaksha Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*. Delhi, 1978, (Reprint)

[5] Gokhale, Shobhana, " Fresh light on an inscription from Junnar ", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vols. 56-59, 1981-84, p. 172.

As one can see, most of the inscriptions are from the second to third centuries A.D. and are restricted to four sites.

Nalinaksha Dutt has made a list of all Buddhist sects and grouped them together according to the similarities in their doctrines.[6] From this we find that the *Mahāsaṅghikas* and the *Aparaśailyas* (who are identical with the *Cetikas* or *Caityakas*) have common ideas. On the other hand, the Bhadrāyaṇīyas, the *Dharmottarīyas* and the *Sammitīyas* can be grouped together. The cardinal doctrine of these three schools, to quote Nalinaksha Dutt[7], " is that besides the elements composing a being, there is a '*pudgala*', an individuality, a personality, a self which is indefinable, and which persists through all the existences ". This theory is a direct antithesis of *nairātmyavāda* (the non existence of an *ātman* or self) which is the keynote of Buddhist philosophy. It seems that there was a debate amongst Buddhist thinkers as to whether these sects should be considered heretical or whether they should be included within the pale of Buddhism. However, their concepts of *Nirvāṇa* have much in common with those of the *Therāvādins* and the *Sarvāstivādins.* For our discussion, it is only important to note that these sects believed in severe meditational practices and that the *Jātaka* stories and the *pāramitās*, they illustrated, were not deemed very important by them. It was the *Mahāsaṅghikas* of Central India and of the Krishna Valley who used the *Jātaka* stories to preach Buddhist virtues among the laity in order to attract a larger following, while the former group strived for the personal attainment of arhat-hood at best.

It is my contention that the *Dharmottarīya*, *Bhadrāyaṇīva*, *Sammitīya* and other sects with similar doctrines and practices, resided in considerable numbers in the Western Indian region from early times—from about two centuries preceding the Christian era. The *Sammitīya* sect is said to have been founded by *Mahākaccāyana* at Avanti and hence the *Sammitīyas* are also called the *Āvantakas*. The other two sects seem to have become obsolete by the time the doctrines were recorded in the texts.[8]

The references to the *Cetika* and the *Aparaseliya* school also indicate that there was also a sect of monks in Western India, which as its name suggests, believed in *caitya* worship. The term *Aparaśailya* also is suggestive of the possibility that they lived in Western India, especially the coastal region *Aparānta*, and had something to do with stone, (*śaila* = mountain). This too seems to have been an early sect and was probably instrumental in the excavation of the caves in the region. The early *caityas* are austere but magnificent in terms of size and proportions and also architectural decoration. Figural sculpture was carved frugally; some sites show more austerity than others. Pitalkhora and Bhaja have abundant figural carvings, while Ajanta and Aurangabad are noteworthy for the total absence of the same. While the artisans display exquisite craftsmanship in the carving of architectural details and decorative motifs, there is a certain lethargy in the delineation of human figures at certain sites.[9]

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[6] Dutt. Nalinaksha *op. cit.*, pp. 50-55,

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 207.

It has been noted before[10] that two sects with conflicting ideas are mentioned as residing simultaneously in the same complex; however, it is likely that the general trend of Buddhism in Western India at that time was marked by austerity.

In this light, one finds the paintings of *Jātaka*s in Cave IX and X at Ajanta, rather curious and anomalous. These are considered by most of the scholars to be coeval with or slightly later than the architecture. If this be true, due to any of the stylistic or palaeographical reasons that most of the scholars give, these would then be the only *Jātaka* scenes represented in any form in the Western Indian region—in fact, apart from a single Tulajalena fragment of a painting considered to be *Hīnayāna* stylistically[11], these paintings will also be the only instances of *Hīnayāna* paintings in the region.

It is thus necessary to reconsider the *Chhaḍdanta* and *Śyama Jātaka* scenes at Ajanta, which are now badly damaged and have all but disappeared from the walls. The only aids for their reconstruction are early line-drawings and copies which after all might not prove accurate enough for stylistic analysis.

As a conclusion, I would state that the Western Indian cave architecture as a whole displays a distinct form of Buddhist worship, marked by an austerity and grandeur which is distinctly different from that of Buddhist art in other parts of India.

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[9] This is most obvious at Nasik.

[10] Nagaraju S., *op. cit.*, pp. 33-37.

[11] Dehejia Vidya, *Early Buddhist Rock Temples*, London, 1972.

MÂRKAṆḌEYA, MÂYÂ AND THE INFINITE

By
R. T. VYAS*

The life of sage Mārkaṇḍeya is a remarkable, typical illustration of the often-misunderstood fact of India's ancient history that those great personages who exerted the most enduring influence in moulding the cultural life of the Indian people, cared but little about making public or recording the details of their personal life. Names of many great thinkers are accordingly never known. The reason for this strange phenomenon lies in the very heart of the exalted culture that developed in this country. From the very ancient times the principal aim of human life and endeavour in India has been conceived in terms of self-realization or the attainment of truth of existence which necessarilly involves the merger of one's finite being into the absolute or infinite Being.

Accordingly, there is very little information regarding the details of 'bio-data' of sage Mārkaṇḍeya. What could be salvaged from total oblivion is his family name and extremely scant bits of information regarding his life and events, rather yogic experiences, that are recorded in some Purāṇas, on the basis of which an attempt will be made here to present an out-line of his towering personality and uncommon accomplishments. It will be seen during the course of discussion that his personal encounters with Godhead, direct experiences of His omnipotent divine energy-*māyā*-and his experience of the infinite, all represented through extremely potent and significant symbols, have exerted very profound and abiding influence on India's philosophical thought.

First, we shall attempt to depict his life as fully as possible on the basis of the sporadic accounts given in different Purāṇas and then shall work out the philosophical implications of some of his yogic experiences narrated in ancient texts.

Regarding the amazing antiquity of his time, the *Padma Purāṇa* states that he lived in an earlier *kalpa*[1] and *Vāyu Purāṇa* says he flourished in the tenth *tretā yuga*.[2] According to *Bhāgavata*, he was the pupil of Indrapramati, one of the bearer of the *Ṛgveda* in the line of teachers connected with Veda-Vyasa who transmitted the four vedas, through an unbroken line of teachers. Moreover,

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* Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Vadodara-2.

[1] *Padma Purāṇa*, I. 33.1

[2] *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 98. 88.

he is ascribed with the authorship of *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and *Varāha Purāṇa*. Thus he may be conceived to have flourished in the present aeon, before the Bhārata-war as the *Mahābhārata* records his meeting with Yudhisthira before whom he is said to have narrated his supra-ordinary experiences[3].

Padma Purāṇa ventures to provide basic information regarding his birth and initial events of his life :

purā kalpe muniḥ pūrvaṁ mṛkaṇḍurnāma viśrutuḥ.
bhṛgoḥ putro mahābhāgaḥ sabhāryastaptavaṅstapaḥ |

"In the previous aeon, there lived a great and reputed sage, namely, Mṛkaṇḍu, son of Bhṛgu. He, together with his wife, practised *tapas* or self-culture. While, in the forest he was doing *tapas*, a son was born to him."

It further narrates that he was destined to be short-lived, just five and half years. At the age of five, his father invested him with the sacred thread and instructed him to pay homage to all holy sages he may happen to meet. Accordingly, when once he was on a journey, he saw the seven celestial seers and duly paid his obeisance to them. The seers pleased with the humility of the boy, spontaneously blessed him with long life, but due to their yogic perception, later knowing that he was to live only for a few days, took pity on him and carried him with them to see Brahmā-the ordainer of lives. Brahmā, graciously bestowed on him very long life and conferred on him several boons, the status of great seer and Purāṇa-writer. Returning home, Mārkaṇḍeya made his firm resolve known to his father to pursue the path of *yoga* in order to realise the ultimate truth of life and existence,[4] as fortunately, he had directly seen the long-lasting divine abode of Brahmā.

Pargiter, after sifting carelly the scattered pieces of information, summarises. " There was of course a family of Mārkaṇḍeya, yet Mārkaṇḍeya is regarded as only one *ṛṣi* who was long-lived He appears always without any personal name of definite connection. Though a *Bhārgava*, Mārkaṇḍeya always stands rather apart and there is no real explanation, as far as I know, how the Mārkaṇḍeyas arose. He is said to have been a son of a *ṛṣi* Mṛkaṇḍa or Mṛkaṇḍu. They are placed in the *svāyambhuva manvantara*. It seems probable that Mārkaṇḍa is, to be connected with Marka, son of Uśanas, Śukra. All Śukra's descendents by holding to non-Aryan tribes disappeared except Ṣaṇḍa and Marka and if so, the descendants of Marka would have obtained a permanent position among the Aryans and may have been the Mārkaṇḍeyas".[5]

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[3] *Mahābhārata*, 12.130.

[4] *Padma Purāṇa*, I.33..2-86

[5] Pargiter, F. E., *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1962, p. 203.

Regarding his hermitage on the bank of Ganges and his original abode or native land where he composed the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Pargiter says: " Mārkaṇḍeya himself was a *Bhārgava*. This is stated in (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*) canto 45.18 and canto 52.14-17; and also in *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparva*, CCXVI. 14104-5. The *Bhārgavas* spread from Cyavana's region, especially eastward along the valleys of Narmadā and Tāpti, as those valleys were gradually wrested from the hill races by the Yādavas and Haihayas, the most famous conquerors of which race were Arjuna Kārtavīrya and Jyāmagha. The former reigned in Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā; and the latter apparently conquered further eastward (see *Mahābhārata*, *Vana Parva* CXVI, *Śānti Parva* XLIX, *Hari Vaṅśa* XXXiii. 1850-90 and 1980-87; *Visnu Purāṇa* CLI-CLXXIV; and *Matsaya Purāṇa* XLiii. 13-51 and XLIV.28-36). Mārkaṇḍeya is said to have paid visits to the Pāṇḍavas and to have had a *tīrtha* at the junction of the Ganges and Gomati (*Mahābhārata*, *Vana Parva*, LXXXIV 8058-9), but his special abode appears to have been on the river Payoṣṇī (the modern Pūrṇā and its continuation in the Tāpti, *Mahābhārata* LXXXVIII. 8330). Both by lineage and by residence, therefore, he belonged to that Western country, and the original *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* must have been composed there.[6]

So far, we learnt about the life-account of Mārkaṇḍeya, but the *Brahma Purāṇa* 52,53, *Matsya Purāṇa*, 166.167, *Mahābhārata*, *Vana Parva*, 130.6 and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 12.8 give a picturesque description of his trans-rational vision of God Viṣṇu, in three archetypal forms, rather his actual encounter with Him due to his uncommon merit, and communication he had with Him and the consequent understanding and insight he gained into the nature of the ultimate reality. Only in the *Mahābhārata*, he is represented as narrating in first person the story of his own experience, which he concludes by asserting before Yudhiṣṭhira that Śri Kṛṣṇa is the same person he had perceived in his vision. The narration in *Matsya Purāṇa* is complete in detail It would, therefore, be interesting to recount the same in brief.

The world-order had deteriorated beyond redemption. Chaos supervened, as *dharma* or law that sustains the world, vanished quarter by quarter and *adharma* was in full swing with all the four quarters. Men were driven by evil and untruth. No one had enlightening goodness, the quality of *sattva*. No truly sagacious and wise persons were seen. Society had lost its corporate organic character sustained by functional divisions, giving place to general disorder wherein unnecessary conflict, envy and anguish prevail. These events indicated that the universe was ripe for dissolution, as the day of Brahmā was about to end. Viṣṇu, the Supreme Being from whom the orderly world first emanated feels the urge to withdraw the outworn cosmos into His divine substance. After a long spell of drought Viṣṇu, the Soul of the universe, becoming the Sun, draws unto himself the eye-sight of all living beings and becoming the wind, pulls out of all creatures the vital air. Turning into fire, He reduces all the contents of the cosmos to ashes. Thereafter the *saṁvartaka megha*, the deluge-clouds inundate it with rains, sweet and pure as milk, making the existence appear as an infinite ocean. All the causal and ultimate elements melt into the undifferentiated billowy waters out of which they first arose. These waters are to be understood as the primary materialization of Viṣṇu's *Māyā*-energy and not as *aqua-elementum*. They are the source as well as the grave of all things, subtle and gross. They represent boundless, eternal energy which assumes individualized forms endowed with limited ego-consciousness, sustains them with vivifying life-sap and draws them back without distinction, unto itself-this is the characteristic work of *māyā*.[7] In an unexpected event, according to the text, Mārkaṇḍeya finds himself in the infinite ocean exposed to all sorts of dangers and anxieties. He dispairs for his life, but somehow manages to float over the dark, endless waters. He pondered: " Is it a dream or a spell of illusion, a figment of my imagination? For the harmonious course of the world, as I observed, does not deserve such annihilation. Where have the sun, moon, earth and the mountains gone?" As he was musing this way, due to divine will, he became aware of the glowing and beautiful form of Viṣṇu, the lord of *māyā*, reclining on the snake called *ananta*-the infinite, partly submerged in waters, resembling enormous range of a mountain. He was filled with amazement and beatific joy. The sage swam nearer to Him and as opened his lips to ask who He was, he was swallowed by the God. Within His body, he found the familiar world, a reality congenial to himself. He, therefore, felt great relief, but was confused and could not reconcile the present reality with his brief but unforgettable experience, the veracity of which transcended the powers of his limited cognitive consciousness. The irony of the situation is, however, that the world perceived through his finite individuality and considered to be real was but the result of the God's *māyā*—a dream of the cosmic dreamer—within which the sage was only a fleeting figure, and yet to the sage who had been blessed with the revelation of the supreme existence in its all—containing quietude was but a dream.

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[6] Pargiter, F. E., *The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, (Tr.) Indological Book House, Delhi, 1969, Introduction p. VIII.

The Oriental Institute, Vadodara, has undertaken the project of preparing the Critical Edition of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.

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[7] These cosmic waters of *pralaya*—a characteristic Indian mythological concept—represents the undifferentiated, nonmanifest aspect of Sāṅkhya's *prakṛti*, the primordial Nature, in its state of perfect equillibrium. They may be homologized to the collective unconscious of Carl Jung, the ground that gives rise to the universal archetypes.

The sage restored to his former life wandered on earth, satisfied with the sarced pursuits of the hermits and their disciples, with the rule of law that the kings meticulously maintained and long sessions of sacrifices performed by priests in strict adherence to the scriptural injunctions, and the harmonious life of the people engaged in professions according to their status in society. This perfect world-order in the body of God exists in subtle from even during *pralaya* which the sage saw because of the divine will.

But once again he suddenly slipped out of the sleeping God's mouth into the boundless dark sea. This time he beholds a very tender but luminous little child sleeping beneath a fig tree, fearless in the dreadful void, sucking the toe of his right foot raised by his lovely hands. The sage was full of curiosity, but due to the dazzling effulgence of the babe, kept himself at a distance and mused : " I recall to have perceived something of this sort earlier ". But his thinking stopped due to fear of drowning in the fathomless, shoreless ocean. The God in the form of the divine child, then kindly addressed him : " Mārkaṇḍeya, my child, have no fear, come to me ". The long-lived and holy ascetic in the sage felt offended at the manneer of the babe's address and reacted with wrath : " Even Brahmā addresses me as 'long-lived-one'. Do'nt you know who am I and what my yogic powers are ? " The babe continued in the same tone unperturbed: " Child, I am thy progenitor, father and elder than all the deities. I am the Primeval Being and bestower of life to all. Your father practised severe penance in bygone days and obtained my grace and prayed me for a son who shuld live long with undiminishing strength. This is why you are privileged to behold my divine from, playing at the root of the tree of existence in the primal cosmic waters. Mārkaṇḍeya's face brightened, his eyes grew wide with delight and he bowed to the divine child in the spirit of utter surender. With tears of joy and gratitude streaming from his eyes, he said : " Blessed indeed am I today to have a vision of your divine eternal form ! Oh lord ! pardon me of my transgressions committed on account of ignorance of your endless glory. Pray, grant me knowledge of the secret of your child from and your *māyā*. Lord of the universe, by what name are you known ? I believe you to be the Primeval *Puruṣa*, the source of all beings, for who else could abide as you do in this manner ? "

Viṣṇu rejoined : " I am the absolute Being conscious of my unitary and infinite nature, the *Puruṣa* called Nārāyaṇa as these cosmic waters are my form and my abode. I recline on this *Śeṣa*, called Ananta—the infinite. I am the source of the universe and have a thousand-innumerable-heads. I manifest myself first as Brahmā—the demiurge—on the cosmic lotus with golden petals, representing the differents worlds. I am Indra, the foremost among gods, Varuṇa, the lord of spheres and waters and Agni that carries oblations to different deities, I am the cycle of the year that generates, sustains and dissolves everything. I am the Divine *Yogī* who works the wonderous tricks of the cosmic *yugas*, the aeons of the world. I cause the display of the mirage, the phenomenal process of the universe; I destroy the same for I am the time, the death of the universe. Still the universe is in one—fourth portion of my being, myself transcending it, remain in my immutable and immortal nature.

"I am all that has been and shall be. Whatever you may see, hear or know in the universe is not separate from me. I am *Haṁsa*, the Divine Swan that enters the lower levels of existence, as the finite self in the bodies of different beings. Though essentially disembodied and fundamentally unaffected by the physical and psychic layers and their processes, this swan again flies high freely and floats in the celestial waters, at home in both, not bound to either.

"And know my *māyā* to be my inherent free energy that, remaining under my control, works the inscrutable feat of measuring the immeasurable, causing the one and infinite to appear as many and finite. Know further that the working of *māyā* is initiated and maintained by the opration of opposing forces and conditions, such as, identity and otherness, rest and motion, light and darkness, good and evil, male and female and the like which get reconciled and resolved in the unity of my transcendent Being. Mārkaṇḍeya! consider my eternal non-manifest nature and the sporting of my *māyā* in your heart with single-pointed mind and live happily attuned to my transcendent essence."

Then, the divine child, once again swallowed Mārkaṇḍeya who found within the body of God the same familiar universe, the reality that corresponded well to his own reality, his limited human consciousness. This time the sage's heart was so much filled with bliss of beatitude that he instead of wandering and seeing the beautiful landscapes or seeing the transactions of orderly human society, settled in a secluded place, sat comfortably in yogic posture and intently heard the celestial song of Divine Swan that with each incoming and outgoing respiration sings *so' ham* "I am He", meaning the identity of the finite self with the supreme Being, the ultimate support of the universe. Thus slowly descending into the innermost recesses of his heart, he directly could perceive the finite self losing its limitations, its separate identity and becoming one with the Infinite.

Regarding the significance of myths and symbols in Indian civilization, Heinrich Zimmer observes: "The mythical tales are meant to convey the wisdom of the philosophers and to exhibit in a popular, pictorial form the experiences or results of *yoga*. Appealing directly to intuition and imagination, they are accessible to all as an interpretation of existence. They are not explicitly commented upon and elucidated...... The tale goes straight to the listener through an appeal to his intuition and creative imagination. It stirs and feeds the unconscious...... Their details impress themselves on the memory, soak down, and shape the deepeer stratification of the psyche. When brooded upon, their significant episodes are capable of revealing various shades of meaning, according to the experience and life-needs of the individual[8]".

Symbolism, in fact, is the only means to communicate the experiences regarding the inner or non-manifest reality, naturally remaning behind or subjācent to the trinity of perceiver, perception and the perceived. Language operates in the domain of the aforesaid divisions and rational categories. But where the apparent multiplicity spontaneously tends to recede back to arrive at the unitary source of creation, the absolute Being, language proves to be hindrance rather than help. The three archetypes:—(1) the Primordial Person reclining on serpent in the endless cosmic waters with Brahmā seated in the lotus growing from his navel, (2) the Divine Child resting at the foot of the fig-tree in those waters, and (3) Divine Swan flying freely in both the terrestrial and celestial spheres, represent the complete topography of the collective unconscious and outline of the methodology through which the objective of the existential programme is attained.

Brahmā seated in the golden lotus growing from the navel of Viṣṇu symbolizes the ego, the point of self-departure or self-differentiation, who through his four faces is capable of seeing into four directions and dominating the universe, but incapable of perceiving his own source, as it remains submerged in the opaque waters of the unconscious. But the ego is always free to stop looking around, both spatially and temporally, attain composure, turn-in and descend into waters of the unconscious, holding speech and breath and find its source-the all-pervading divinity-the Primordial Person. It is basically a process whereby the limited and conditioned consciousness moves toward limitlessness, deconditioning and freedom from temporality. The serpent on which Viṣṇu reclines is known as *ananta*-the infinite. When the ego is about of accomplish self-transcendence, it faces the prospect of awesome void and self-annihilation, but as it further consolidates this state of absolute peace and stability, it is reassured of the attainment of the Reality—the objective of the existential programme. The sleep of Viṣṇu is not the ordinary one but is known as *yoganidrā*, conscious sleep, the real, natural and transcendent state of the absolute, unitary Being where the consciousness of the second is ruled out and therefore differs completely from the empirical states of consciousness involving duality. The Divine Child symbolizes the attainment of the infinite consciousness that while encompassing the total existence, transcends it and remains unaltered in its pure, free and untainted nature-the state of childlike innocence and detachment in which the sages after realizing the truth abide. And the *Haṁsa*-the Divine Swan is the vital breath, representing the Primordial *Puruṣa*, abiding as the finite self in the physical bodies, by taking resort to which wise men cross over the ocean of ignorance and discover the ultimate reality in their heart.

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[8] Zimmer, Heinrich, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1990, pp. 39-40,

Mārkaṇḍeya, because he had first-hand experience of the power of *māyâ*, sings her glory in moving words in the *Devī-Māhātmya*, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, LXXXI-XCIII and delivers the message that the *citi*, the pure awareness, abidîng in the heart of all beings, if made one-pointed and stabilized through constant practice, takes care of one as loving mother and lands him safely on the other shore of fearlessness.

MAṆḌANA ON AVIDYÂNIVṚTTI

By

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In the history of Advaita Vedānta literature Maṇḍana Miśra occupies a prominent place for his significant and substantial contribution to the growth of the Advaita school of Indian philosophy. He is famous as the propounder of a distinct stream of *Advaitavāda* called *Maṇḍana Prasthāna* which is altogether different from that of Ādi Śaṅkarācarya, the great Advaita preceptor. From the recent researches conducted on the traditional theory of identity of Maṇḍana with Sureśvara, it is evidently known[1] that Maṇḍana is a pre-Śaṅkara Advaitin (670-720 A.D.) and he is not identical with Sureśvara, the immediate disciple of Śaṅkara who flourished around eighth century A.D. It is also ascertained by the epoch-making researches of the eminent modern scholars that Maṇḍana's Advaitic doctrines are quite different from those of Sureśvara[2] who, on most of the Advaitic issues faithfully and directly follows his revered preceptor Śaṅkara. On the other hand, Maṇḍana's views are independent, forceful and consequently exert tremendous influence on the later Advaitins who either reiterate or subscribe his convictions directly or indirectly, in their respective works. These later Advaitins who flourished in the post-Śaṅkara period do not present, as it

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[1] Nakamura, H. *A History of Early Vedānta Philosophy*, part one, Delhi, Motilal Banarasidass, 1983, p. 84-85. ;
Sastri, Kuppuswami, edited, *Brahmasiddhi of Maṇḍana Miśra with the Commentary of Śaṅkhapāṇi*, Delhi, Sri Satguru Publication, 1984, p. xxvi;
Thrasher, A. W. *The Advaita of Maṇḍana Miśra's Brahmasiddhi*, Thesis, Harvard University, 1972, p. 346, ;
Potter, K. H., *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies, Advaita Vedānta*, Delhi, Motilal Banarasidass, 1981, p. 346.

[2] Hiriyanna, M. " Sureśvara and Maṇḍana Miśra " *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1923, April; and 1924 January;
Sastri, Kuppuswami, *op. cit.*, p. xxv.
Pandeya, Muralidhara, *Śrī Śaṅkarātprāgadvaitavāda*, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Delhi, 1986, p. 439-479. ;
Pandey, Sangam Lal. *Pre–Śaṅkara Advaita Philosophy*, Darshan Peeth, Allahabad, pp. 38-49.

is observed, correctly Maṇḍana's view on some significant Advaitic issues. It will be clear from the following investigation that one of them is Appayya Dīkṣita (1600 A.D.), the famous author of the *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha* who does not faithfully present the exposition of Maṇḍana's view.

In this paper an attempt is made to explore one of such original independent views of Maṇḍana on the concept of *avidyānivṛtti* (cessation of nescience) and to compare it with that of the view as presented by Appayya Dīkṣita in the *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha*.

It is well-known that all the Advaita philosophers are unanimous about the theory of Reality that *Brahman* or *Ātman* is the only transcendental Reality which is one, eternal, immutable, devoid of empirical differences and consisting of being, consciousness and bliss (*sat-cit-ānanda*). *Brahman* is the true essence of the individual self (*Jīvātman*). The *Jīvātman* has no real, separate existence; but the form in which it appears with psycho-physical complexes is an unreal projection of beginningless nescience called *Avidyā* or *Māyā*. When the *Avidyā* (nescience) which veils the essential nature of the transempirical Reality termed *Brahman* and projects it in the form of the *Jīvātman*, perishes completely with all its effects, the *Jīvātman* realises his essential nature i.e. *Brahman* transcending all sorts of illusory limitations. This *brahmabhāva* of *Jīvātman* is, according to Advaita philosophy,[3] called *mokṣa* (highest beatitude). Advaitins also use another term i.e. *avidyānivṛtti* to denote the idea of *mokṣa*. As Citsukhācārya in his work, *Tattvapradīpikā*[4] says: *anatiśayānandasvabhāvasyātmano avidyā tirodhānam eva bandhaḥ, vidyānimittastadastamayo mokṣaḥ.*

The term *avidyānivṛtti* being a substitute for *mokṣa* becomes the bone of contention among the Advaita preceptors who considerably differ about its characteristics. Discussing this puzzling issue from diverse viewpoints, the Advaitins set forth divergent theories about the nature of *avidyānivṛtti*. The problem, that is, whether *avidyānivṛtti* is real (*sat*) or unreal (*asat*) or real cum unreal (*sadasadubhaya*) or different from both or indefinable like *avidyā* does not get a sound solution though the stalwarts of the Advaita philosophy entangle themselves in the perplexing and arduous dialectics along with complex jargons to decide in which category *avidyānivṛtti* falls. However, Śaṅkara does not feel any philosophical significance of this problem and consequently his commentarial works do not provide any direct view about the nature of *avidyānivṛtti*. Fortunately,

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[3] *Brahmaveda brahmaiva bhavati. Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, III. 2.9; *Bramabhāvaśca mokṣaḥ, Brahmasūtraśāṅkarabhāṣya* I. 1.4; see *Bhāmatī* II. 3.40.

[4] Citsukhācārya, *Tattvapradīpikā with the Commentary of Nayanaprasādini*, translated by Swami Yogindrananda, Udasina Sanskrit Vidyalaya, Kasi, 1965, p. 579.

Maṇḍana Miśra considers this problem and expounds a definite view in his *magnum opus*, *Brahmasiddhi.* Expounding the doctrine of *mokṣa* in several places of *Brahmasiddhi* Maṇḍana maintains that *mokṣa* is the removal of nescience (*avidyānivṛtti*).[5] And, the *avidyānivṛtti* is of the nature of *vidyā*[6] (self-realisation). In very clear and unmistakable terms Maṇḍana equates *avidyānivṛtti* with the *vidyā.* As Prof. K. Sastri aptly remarks : " In the *Brahmasiddhi,* Maṇḍana equates the removal of nescience (*avidyā-nivṛtti*) with Brahman realisation (*Vidyā*) ".[7] Prof. Pandey also rightly maintains : " at several places in the *Brahmasiddhi* Maṇḍana identifies dissolution of *avidyā* with *vidyā* ".[8]

Maṇḍana also considers *avidyānivṛtti* as a real category (*sat-padārtha*). Since he is the propounder of the doctrine of *Sadādvaita* or *Bhāvādvaita,* he admits the reality of the negative categories such as *avidyānivṛtti* or *Prapañcābhāva.* According to him, the Upaniṣadic statements like " *asthulam, anaṇu, ahrasvam* ", " *neti neti* ", " *advitīyam* " etc. express the negative realities. and do not come in conflict with the non-dualism of Advaita. Advaita, in the sense of *Bhāvādvaita* (theory of the single positive reality) excludes only a second positive reality. According to Maṇḍana, the total negation of the world and the *avidyānivṛtti* are the only two negations which should be accorded reality.[9]

It is interesting to note that nowhere in his *Brahmasiddhi* Maṇḍana speaks of *avidyānivṛtī* as the *Brahman* or *Ātman.* Notwithstanding this, Maṇḍana is known as the expounder of the view i.e. *avidyānivṛtti* as *Ātman.* Hence the modern writers on Advaita are inclined to take a position that this view is of Maṇḍana.

From our investigation it is clear that the reason behind this popular acceptance of the above said view i.e. *avidyānivṛtti* as *Ātman*, is due to Appayya Dīkṣita, a sixteenth century Śaṅkaraite philosopher. In his *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha* Appayya Dīkṣita presents some of the views of his predecessors like Ānandabodha about the nature of *avidyānivṛtti.*[10] Therein referring to Maṇḍana

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5. *Avidyāstamayo mokṣaḥ sa saṁsāra udāhṛtā / vidyaiva cādvayā śāntā tadastamaya ucyate.* Maṇḍana Miśra, *op. cit.*, verse, III. 106.
6. Maṇḍana. *Brahmasiddhi,* part I, p. 119, verse 106; and p. 121.
7. Sastri, Kuppuswami. *op. cit.*, p. xlii.
8. Pandey, Sangam Lal. *op. cit.* p. 424.
9. Sundaram, P. K. *Advaita Epistemology with Special Reference to Iṣṭasiddhi,* University of Madras, Madras, 1968, p. 407.
10. *Kim tu uktaprakāracatuṣṭayottirṇā pañcamaprakāretyānandabodhācāryāḥ ; evam cāvidyānivṛttirapi brahmasākṣtkārodayāntarakṣaṇavartī kaschid bhāva-vikāra iti tasyā muktāvanuvṛtyabhāvāt na tadanirvācyatve kaścid doṣa etyadvaitavidyācāryāḥ.* Appayya Dīkṣita, *Siddhānta-*

he says : *ātmaiveti Brahmasiddhikārāḥ.*[11] Putting forth Maṇḍana's view of *avidyānivṛtti* as *Ātman* he sets aside this by saying that *avidyānivṛtti* is indescribable since it is the modification of an entity at the moment just after the emergence of the immediate experience of *Brahman. Avidyānivṛtti* does not continue in the state of release, for it is momentary.[12]

But Maṇḍana's view as expounded by Appayya Dīkṣita is undoubtedly a misrepresentation which really is not Maṇḍana's view. This view seems to be of Citsukhācārya (1220 A D.) who expounds this in his *Tattvapradīpikā.* While Maṇḍana holds the view that *avidyānivṛtti* is *vidyō*, Appayya presents it as *Ātmā* or *Brahman.* However, the modern writers on Advaita while discussing the concept of *avidyānivṛtti* under Maṇḍana's name refer to Appayya and without looking at the original source take into account the presentation of Appayya as faithful. Here are some instances :

K. Narain says : " According to the author of *Brahmasiddhi,* because the state of the sublation of *avidyā* is identical with Brahmahood, it would be inaccurate to imagine any other form of reality in this state. The reality of *avidyānivṛtti* is the same as the ultimate *pāramārthika-sattā* of Brahman ".[13] N. D. Mehta also asserts : " The author of *Advaitabrahmasiddhi* holds that Cessation of ignorance is identical with self ".[14] Revathy puts : " *Avidyā-nivṛtti* is identical with Brahman. Maṇḍanamiśra in his *Brahmasiddhi* advocates this view ".[15]

All these writers do not refer to Maṇḍana's original work *Brahmasiddhi* but *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha* of Appayya Dīkṣita. It is significant to say that Kuppusvami Sastri and P. K. Sundaram who discuss critically and comprehensively Maṇḍana's view of *avidyānivṛtti* in the introduction to the *Brahmasiddhi* of Maṇḍana and *Advaita Epistemology with Special Reference to Iṣṭasiddhi* respectively do not point out Maṇḍana's view of *avidyānivṛtti* as *Brahman* or *Ātman.* Another valid reason to this effect is Citsukhācārya who says :— *Vidyaiva*

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leśasaṅgraha, ed. by R S. Betai and Y. S. Shastri, and translated by E. A. Soloman, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, pp. 539-548.

[11] *Ibid.* p. 537.

[12] *Ibid.* p. 537; Sinha, Jadunatha, *Problems of Post-Śaṅkara Advaita Vedānta,* Sinha Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., Calcutta, 1971, p. 168-169.

[13] Narain, K. *A Critique of Mādhva Refutation of the Śaṅkara School of Vedāntā,* Udayana Publications, Allahabad, 1964, pp. 320-321.

[14] Mehta, N. D. *Vedānta Siddhānta Bheda,* S. N. Publication, Delhi, 1985, p. 105.

[15] Revathy, S. " The Doctrine of Māyā in Advaita Vedānta ", *The Voice of Śaṅkara,* Vol. XIV, No. 3, 1990, p. 71.

vādvayāśāntā tadastamaya ucyate iti Brahmasiddhikārairapyuktavāt ".[16] This discussion given above suggests : While Maṇḍana views *avidyānivṛtti* as the nature of *vidyā* (realisation), Appayya Dīkṣita presents Maṇḍana's view of *avidyānivṛtti* as *Ātman* which does not hold good. But a question arises : why does Appayya Dīkṣita present the mistaken view. The reasons seem as follows :

Perhaps Appayya depends on the authentic sources of the oral tradition.

Some other commentaries on *Brahmasiddhi* were existing in his times but not available to us at present, or

Appayya being a staunch follower of Śaṅkara's school might have twisted the view a little bit as Maṇḍana might have enjoyed the respectable position of a strong opponent.

This discussion leads to the conclusion that the authenticity of original sources of the relevant topics of the relevant texts should be rather compared with the Sanskrit text only. One should not totally depend upon the secondary sources which many a times mislead the scholars and the students. This misleading frequently blooms into the wrong suppositions regarding the theories and definitions which are not so in their original sources.

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[16] Citsukhācārya, *Tattvapradīpikā*, translated by Swami Yogindrananda, Udasina Sanskrit Vidyalaya, Kasi, 1956, p. 600.

THE HINDU ADOPTIONS ACT—ANCIENT, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN—A COMPARISON

By

S. G. MOGHE*

In the *History of Dharma-śāstra* Vol. III. pp. 662 to 699, Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane has thoroughly discussed this problem. However, his book contains discussion pertaining to the Adoptions Act during the British regime. The Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act was passed in 1956 making substantial changes in the original Adoptions Act presented by the Sanskrit Dharmaśāstra texts. Hence an attempt is made here to make a proper comparison of these acts indicating several changes and also how far the spirit of the old Hindu law is retained here, and also to see how far the suggestions made by the learned doctor are accepted by our legislature.

While dealing with the Hindu Adoptions Act, the questions often arise in respect of a person who should be given in adoption, under what circumstances a person can be given in adoption, what should be the age of a person to be given in adoption, who can give a person in adoption and who can accept the person in adoption and what happens to an adopted son if the adoptive father gets a natural son after having adopted a son. By making proper comparison of these laws, an attempt is made here to bring to light the problems which are unsolved by the present Hindu Adoptions act and to show how far a real distinct advance is made over the ancient and medieval adoptions act by the present Adoptions Act, introduced after the dawn of independence. As there is no place in Dr. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, to some such aspects, it is necessary to take a synthetic view in this matter.

I. The *Manu-Smṛti* IX.168 allows[1] the adoption of a son belonging to the same caste. The word *sadṛśaṁ* occurring in the text of the *Manu-Smṛti*. is interpreted by Medhātithi (825 A.D. to 900 A.D.) in a different manner. He thinks[2]

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[1] *Mātā pitā vā dadyātāṁ yaṁ adbhiḥ putraṁ āpadi |*
Sadṛśaṁ prītisaṁyuktaṁ sa jñeyo datrimaḥ sutaḥ ||
Manu-Smṛti IX.168. (*The Manu-Smṛti*—Nirnaya Sagara press edition, Bombay, 1925).

[2] *Ataḥ kṣatriyādirapi viprāderdattako bhavatīti Medhātithiḥ |*

that even a *Kṣatriya* boy can be adopted by a *brāhmaṇa*. This simply indicates the progressive outlook of Medhātithi. However, Medhātithi's mode of interpretation is not favoured by Nīlakaṇṭha[3] who very succinctly brings in the *Mīmāṁsā* objection against the interpretation of Medhātithi.

The Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act 1956 does not lay down any restriction in respect of the caste of a person to be adopted in view of its modern approach.

II. Ancient Hindu law allowed the adoption of a son only. While the medieval digest author Anantadeva, the author of *Śaṁskāra-Kaustubha*[4] allows the adoption of a daughter. The probable date of Anantadeva is treated as the third quarter of the 17th century A.D.

While the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act 1956, allows a person to adopt a daughter if he has not a Hindu daughter or son's daughter at the time of adoption by the sec. 11 (ii). Here it may be remarked that it is difficult[5] to agree with H. S. Ursekar when he argues the adoption of a daughter as a vital change made by the present Adoptions Act. When the idea of adopting a daughter is already introduced in the 17th century, how is it possible to say or endorse the view that this is a new vital change and particularly when this aspect[6] is also discussed by Mm. Dr. Kane.

III. As regards the age of a boy or a daughter to be adopted, it must be pointed out that Dr. Kane[7] has already shown that this age roughly comes to 3 to 5. This is also the view of the author of the *Dattaka-Mīmāṁsā*. A boy is to be adopted before the *Cūḍā karma* is performed in his age. In any case, the adoption of a boy after 5 years is not to take place at all, though Viśvāmitra's adoption of Śunaḥśepa is a unique case in the domain of Adoption.

Vyavahāra-Mayūkha P. 108 (*The Vyavahāra Mayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha* : edited by P. V. Kane, Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrt series, 1926).

[3] *Sadṛśaṁ jātyā iti Kullūkabhaṭṭaḥ* / *Yuktaṁ ca idaṁ* / *Ibid.* P. 108.

[4] *Dattaka-putryāḥ api svīkāraḥ uktavidhinā kāryaḥ* / *Saṁskāra-Kaustubha* P. 118 quoted in the *History of Dharma-Śastra*. Vol. I Part II P. 956 (Kane P. V.—*History of Dharma-Śāstra*, Vol. I Part II—published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, 1975).

[5] Ursekar H. S.: *Adoption : Unmarried Mother*—Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, Vol. 39, No. 1, pp. 55-58.

[6] Kane P. V. : '*History of Dharma-Śāstra*', Vol. III, (Published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, 1946), pp. 679-681.

[7] *Ibid.*, P. 699.

While the present Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956, provides that a boy or a girl to be adopted should not have completed the age of 15 at the time of adoption. This is evident from the section 10(iv). Here also the stress is given on the custom and if the custom permits, a boy or a girl even after the completion of the age of 15 years may be adopted. Here it may be noted in passing that the suggestion of Dr. Kane that no one can be adopted after the *Upanayana* ceremony (thread ceremony) is turned down by the modern legislature. Dr. Kane's further suggestion that no one can be adopted after his marriage in the natural family is also set at naught by the provision of the section 10 (iii), provided there is a custom or usage so applicable to the particular communities permitting the adoption of even a married person. From this, it is evident that the spirit of the Old Hindu law in respect of the age of a boy to be adopted is completely ignored by the modern legislature.

IV. Ancient *Smṛtikāras* (law-makers or givers) like Manu and others do not allow[8] the giving of the only son or the eldest son in adoption.

As regards this aspect, the present Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956 has nothing to favour this point. In fact, this act is silent on this aspect.

V. While dealing with the aspect of the person who can give the son in adoption, the *Manu-Smṛti* IX. 168 and the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* II. 130 allow a mother or a father to give a son in adoption and a mother is allowed under certain circumstances. While the *Vasiṣṭha Dharma-Sūtra*[9] XV. 5 does not allow a widow to give a son in adoption or to accept the son in adoption. This passage is also differently interpreted by different schools by resorting to different *Mīmāṁsā* rules of interpretation as shown by Dr. Kane in his *History of Dharma-Śāstra.*[10]

While the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956 allows by its provisions of section 9 (ii) (iii) and (v) a father or a mother or a guardian to give a son in adoption only by introducing some restrictions.

VI. In respect of the persons who can adopt a boy in adoption, the *Manu--Smṛti* IX. 168 lays down that the adoptive person should be in distress.[11] i.e. He should have no son at the time of adopting a boy. This right is given to a male only.

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[8] *Manu-Smṛti* IX. 106; Also see Nīlakaṇṭha's *Vyavahāra Mayūkha,* P. 108, for further discussion.

[9] *Na strī putraṁ dadyāt pratigṛṇhīyāt vā anyatra anujñānāt bhartuḥ* / Führer : *The Vasiṣṭha Dharma-Sūtra*, XV. 5, published in the Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrt series, No. XXIII, 1914.

[10] Kane P. V. : *History of Dharma-Śāstra,* Vol. III, pp. 668-69.

[11] Note the expression '*Āpadi*' in the *Manu-Smṛti* IX. 168.

The present Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956, permits by the section 8 (a), (b) and (c) any Hindu female of sound mind and who is not a minor to adopt a son or a daughter in adoption. While the section 7 of this act permits a Hindu man of sound mind and who is not a minor to adopt a son or a daughter only with the consent of his wife. From this comparison, it would be quite evident that as per the modern trends, any Hindu female is empowered to adopt a son or a daughter in adoption. This is a significant change introduced by the modern legislature.

VII. As regards the age of the adoptive father or mother a *Smṛtikāra* or any medieval digest author has no view to express.

Here it may be shown by section 11 (ii) and (iii) of the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956 the restriction is laid down in respect of the age of the adoptive father or a mother. In the first place, the adoptive father or a mother should be major in the eyes of law and there should be a difference of 21 years between the adoptive father or a mother and a boy or a girl to be adopted. It is evident from this discussion that the modern legislature has introduced a condition which has no place in the works of the ancient *Smṛtikāras* or medieval digest authors or the commentators of the *Smṛti* or *Dharma-Sūtra* works.

VIII. The question often arises whether a person already having a son or a daughter can adopt any other person. In this respect, attention may be drawn to the present author's paper[12] ' *Śunaḥśepa* and *Dattaka-Vidhāna* ' in which it is shown that Visvāmitra's adoption of Śunaḥśepa as a son will have to be treated as simply unique in the Dharma-Śāstra literature in view of the fact that Viśvāmitra was already having 100 sons to his credit. The general trend of the ancient *Smṛtikāras* and digest-authors is that an adoptive father should not have a son at the time of adoption.

This provision of the ancient Hindu law presented by the Dharma-Śāstra texts seems to have been favoured by the present Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956 when in particular by the section 11 (i) and (ii), it specifically lays down that the adoptive father or a mother should not have a son, or son's son or son's son's son at the time of adoption.

Here it may be significantly pointed out that in a manuscript[13] entitled ' *Dattaka-Siddhānta-Mañjarī* (folio 11b) Bālakṛṣṇa has observed that if an adoptive father has an *aurasa* son who is blind or a dumb or a deaf right from his birth, then he is allowed to adopt a son. The present author will have to observe here that the modern legislature has failed to take into account this significant aspect in respect of an adoptive father and it deserves some proper consideration. The present Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act 1956, has nothing to make any provision in respect of a person who is having a son suffering from incurable defects right from his birth. Hence one will have to endorse the view that the medieval Dharma-Śāstra authors have given a serious thought to this problem of adoption which is not solved by the present act to the fullest possible satisfaction.

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[12] Moghe S.G. " *Śunaḥśepa and Dattaka-Vidhāna* " published in the *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapitha*, Vol. 35, Parts 1 and 2, 1979, pp. 85-96.

[13] *Ataḥ eva janmāndha-mūka-badhira-aurasa-putravataḥ piturdattagrahaṇaṁ saṅgacchate* | *Datta-Siddhānta-Mañjarī*, folio llb, quoted by P. V. Kane in the *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, Vol. III. p. 667.

IX. The Present Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act 1956 has no answer to give to some important problems in respect of an adoption. After making an adoption of a boy, if an adoptive father gets a natural son, what should be the share of his property given to the adopted son and natural son? In this respect, the modern legislature has not given any helping hand to solve this problem.

Here the attention can be drawn to the discussion[14] in the *Saṁskāra-Kaustubha* of Anantadeva who points out that if a natural son is born to the adoptive father after he has taken a boy in adoption, then the adopted son becomes an equal sharer with the *Aurasa* (natural) son, if all the *saṁskāras* upto *Upanayana* are performed by the adoptive father for the adopted boy or he takes only a fourth share if only some of the *Saṁskāras* ending with *Upanayana* are performed by the adopter and he gets no inheritance but only provision for marriage, if he was adopted after *Upanayana* is performed in the natural family. Here one is constrained to observe that the medieval digest-authors have tried to solve this problem by attaching importance to the *saṁskāras* which are carried out in the case of a boy. The solution suggested by the medieval digest-authors may or may not become acceptable to the modern society; but one has to admit that some kind of solution is suggested by them. The present Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act 1956, has no solution to offer to this knotty problem. Here it is also suggested by some lawyers to me that the answer to this problem is available in the Indian Succession Act.

X. The ancient Hindu Adoptions Act maintains that the adoption can not be said to be complete unless the *Dattaka-Homa* is performed. Here attention may be drawn to the modernity[15] in the explanation of Shankarashastri

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[14] Anantadeva's *Saṁskāra-Kaustubha*, p. 118 quoted in the *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 956.

[15] Moghe, S. G. : ‘The Commentary Śāṅkarī on the Dattaka-Candrikā,’ *Journal of the Mysore Orientalist*, Vol. XIII, p. 35.

Marulakar who in his modern sanskrit commentary *Śāṅkarī* on the *Dattaka-Candrikā* points out that a king should be informed and his presence is the most desirable thing for the *Dattaka-Homa*. When however, a king is not available, one may invite the other Government officers like Patil, Kulkarni, Mamlatdar etc. to grace the occasion of the *Dattaka-Homa*. This suggestion is given by the learned Shastri during the British regime.

The present Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act 1956 provides that by section 11 (vi), it is not necessary to perform the *Dattaka-Homa* in order that the validity of the adoption should be maintained. However, it is observed in the daily practice among the people that they take pleasure in performing the *Dattaka-Homa*. From this discussion, it goes without saying that though the modern legislature is responsible for completely ignoring the spirit of the ancient and medieval condition of a *Dattaka-Homa* as a valid condition for adoption, the practice among the people, though in a limited measure, is not favourable to the modern legislature as such.

XI. Ancient *Smṛtikāras*, commentators and digest-authors like Nilakaṇṭha,[16] Vijnāneśvara and others admitted the *Mīmāṁsā* principle of *Adṛṣṭa*, *kratvartha* and *puruṣārtha* as absolutely necessary for the valid adoption of a boy.

The modern legislature has turned down all these *Mīmāṁsā* principles so upheld by the Dharma-Śāstra authors to maintain the spirit of the old Hindu law. Attention may be drawn to the rejection of the *Mīmāṁsā* principle of *Adṛṣṭa* by justice P. B. Gajendragadkar in a case of Madhavarao Vs. Raghunatharao—48 Bom. L. R. 196 and particularly argued by Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane relying on the arguments of *Mitākṣarā* on the *sagotra* marriages.

XII. Ancient *Smṛtikāras*, commentators of the *Smṛtis* and *Dharma-Sūtras* and digest-authors like Nīlakaṇṭha, Mitramiśra and others have not laid down any provision in respect of the disposal of the property by the adoptive father or mother.

The present Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act 1956, makes a provision by the section 13 that subject to any agreement to the contrary, an adoption does not deprive the adoptive father or mother of the power to dispose off his or her property by transfer or will. Any dispassionate reader will have to admit that this is the new but welcome addition on the part of the modern legislature.

XIII. The ancient *Smṛtikāras* like Manu and Yājñavalkya and others entertain the idea of the continuation of the family at the back of adoption particularly in respect of the family of the adoptive father or mother.

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[16] *Nīlakaṇṭha's Vyavahāra-Mayūkha*, p. 107 ff.

The modern legislature has thrown overboard the old idea of the continuation of the family of the adoptive father or mother, by providing the adoption of a daughter by the section 11 (ii) of the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act 1966.

In conclusion, the foregoing comparison would lead us to the irresistible conclusion that the modern legislature has introduced only few vital changes, completely ignored the spirit of the old Hindu law of Adoption, left some problems unsolved, and totally thrown into background the *Mīmāṁsā*[17] principles which were treated as the back-bones of the Dharma-Śāstra.

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[17] Ayyar, A. S. : *Mīmāṁsā Jurisprudence*, published by the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad, 1952, pp. 12-13.

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A CRITICAL NOTE ON HAṬHAPRADĪPIKĀ

By

M. L. Gharote*

Introduction :

Haṭhapradīpikā is an important treatise on *Haṭhayoga* written by Swātmārāma and has commanded a great influence not only on the practical students of *Yoga* but also has become a source of inspiration for many later writers on *Haṭhayoga* as can be seen from the treatises like *Yogacintāmaṇi*, *Haṭharatnāvali*, *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* and *Haṭhatattva Kaumudī*. Several manuscripts are found deposited in the oriental libraries in the country and abroad. After the first printed edition of *Haṭhapradīpikā* by Tukārām Tātyā of Bombay in 1893, several Indian and foreign editions are more or less the production of similar text with the exception of the critical edition brought out by the Kaivalyadhāma S.M.Y.M. Samiti, Lonavla in 1970. The efforts made for this critical edition are noteworthy because 101 manuscripts preserved in different libraries were consulted for this edition. This critical edition contains 5 chapters, the last one describing the therapeutical remedies of the complaints of the Yogic aspirants as a result of faulty practices. This last chapter is not found in any of the printed edition of *Haṭhapradīpikā*.

It is to be noted that different manuscripts of *Haṭhapradīpikā* vary in their contents. Some manuscripts contain a few verses which are not found in other manuscripts. What could be the source of the variance in these verses?

The purpose of this paper is to invite attention of *Yoga* students and scholars to a unique manuscript of *Haṭhapradīpikā* preserved in the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur vide No. 6756. It contains 1553 verses divided in six chapters. It is the largest manuscript of *Haṭhapradīpikā* available so far which has not yet attracted the attention of the students and the scholars.

Description of the Manuscript :

The manuscript of the Rajasthan Oriental Reserch Institute, Jodhpur is numbered as 6756, size 17 cm. × 9 cm., pages 171, lines 7-9 and letters 20-23.

The colophon reads : *Iti Śrī Śahajanātha śiṣyeṇa śrī Svātmārāmayogīndreṇa viracitāyāṁ Haṭhapradīpikāyāṁ Siddhāntamuktāvalyāṁ ṣaṣṭhopadeśaḥ iti/śrīrastu/ Śrīmanmahārājādhirāja śrī Jayasiṁhadevaji-kasyājñayā likhitamidaṁ Tulārāmeṇa*

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* Kaivalyadhama, S.M.Y.M. Samiti, Lonavla-410403

saṁvat 1765 *varṣe Caitre māse kṛṣṇa pakṣe* 10 *śrīrāmo jayati/śrī gaṇapataye namaḥ/* There are some faults of the scribe but the text is generally correct.

This manuscript comprises six lessons containing 1553 verses. The distribution of verses and contents in each chapter as compared with the Kaivalyadhama printed edition is shown in Table-1.

The topics not found discussed in the printed edition of *Haṭhapradīpikā* but available in the Jodhpur manuscript are presented in Table 2. It is to be noted that the contents of the fifth chapter in Kaivalyadhāma printed edition related to the therapeutical application are conspicuously absent in the Jodhpur manuscript.

In table 3 are shown number of additional verses devoted to different topics in the Jodhpur Manuscript.

Salient Points :

As has been shown the special feature of the Jodhpur manuscript is that it contains not only largest number of verses but also number of topics which are missing in the printed edition. It is worth recording new information available in this manuscript.

Greatest number of *āsanas* described in any traditional text is found in this manuscript. A list of *āsanas* described is presented in Table 4. 86 new *āsanas* have been described out of which names of some are quite unfamiliar and are not found in any other text. A few of these *āsanas* like Śivāsana. *Pūrvāsana. Saptarṣi-āsana, Gorakṣajañjāli-āsana* are found described by Jaiyatrāma in his *Yogapradīpikā* written in Hindi.

TABLE-2

Topics from Jodhpur Edition not found in the Kaivalyadhama Printed Edition of Haṭhapradīpikā

1. Characteristics of *Guru.*
2. Characteristics of good and bad disciple.
3. Need of behaviour as prescribed by *Dharma*.
4. Description of 87 more *āsanas* in addition to 13 mentioned in printed edition.
5. Rules of diet.
6. Eulogy of *Prāṇāyāma.*
7. Description of *Kanda, Nāḍīs Kuṇḍalinī*, elaborate discussion on *Khecarī.*
8. Reference to *Tāraka Yoga, Advaita Yoga.*
9. Unlucky omens indicating death, means of control of death.

TABLE I

Number of Verses in Each Chapter of Haṭhapradipikā

Haṭhapradīpikā Jodhpur MS.

Chapter:	No. of Verses	Contents
I	177	*Haṭhayoga-Rājayoga* relationship, need of *Haṭhayoga*, List of adepts practising *Haṭhayoga*, Importance of practice according to the Śastra and as directed by *Sadguru*, Characteristics of a bad disciple, Need of behaviour as prescribed by *Dharma*.
II	136	Characteristics of suitable region and Yogic hut for the practice, *Yogasiddhi* and *asiddhi lakṣaṇas*, *Yama-Niyama*, Curriculum of *Haṭhayoga*, Description of 97 *Āsanas*, Rules of diet and contraindicated food.
III	200	Importance and eulogy of *Prāṇāyāma*.
IV	133	Efficacy of *Saṭkarmas* and their technique, Description of the eight varieties of *Kumbhaka*, purpose of *Prāṇāyāma*.
V	543	Description of *Kanda*, three *Nāḍis* and *Kuṇḍalinī*, Discussion on 10 *Mudrās* with elaborate description of *Khecari*.
VI	364	Description of various techniques of *Dhyāna* leading to *Samādhi*. Emphasis on *Nādānusandhāna*, *Advaitayoga*, Four stages of absorption of mind, internal and external symptoms and unlucky men indicating time of death, control of death.
Total	1553	
Excess Verses	1144	

Haṭhapradīpikā Kaivalyadhama Printed Edition

Chapter:	No. of Verses	Contents
I	67	*Haṭhayoga-Rājayoga* relationship, Characteristics of Yogic hut, Description of *Āsanas*, *Haṭhayoga* curriculum and Yogic diet,
II	78	*Prāṇāyāma*—its utility and description of 8 varieties, Description and effects of 6 purificatory processes, Description and eulogy of *Kevala Kumbhaka* and symptoms of the success in Haṭhayogic practices.
III	126	Description and effects of 10 *Mudrās* for the awakening of *Kuṇḍalinī*.
IV	114	*Rājayoga* or *Samādhi* by conducting *Prāṇa* through *Suṣumnā* by resorting to various techniques but emphasing on *Nādānusandhāna*, contribution of *Śāmbhavi* and *Khecari* and various stages of attaining progress in *laya*.
V	24	Treatment of the disorders due to erroneous yogic practices. This treatment of topic is found only in 2 manuscripts.
	409	

TABLE–3

Additional Verses Devoted to Different Topics in the Jodhpur Manuscript

Chapter	No. of additional verses	Topics
Chapter I	110	Need of *Haṭhayoga*, list of adepts, characteristics of *Guru*, Characteristics of a bad disciple, Need of prescribed behaviour.
Chapter II	58	*Yama*, *Niyama*, description of 100 *Āsana*s, rules of diet.
Chapter III	74	Importance and eulogy of *Prāṇāyāma*.
Chapter IV	19	Description of the varieties of *Kumbhaka*.
Chapter V	519	Description of *Kanda*, *Nāḍīs*, *Kuṇḍalinī*, 10 *Mudrās* with special elaboration on *Khecarī*.
Chapter VI	364	Description of *Samādhi*, emphasis on *Nādānusandhāna*, *Advaita Yoga*, unlucky omens.
Total number of additional verses	1144	

TABLE–4

List of Āsanas in Haṭhapradīpikā Jodhpur MS.

*1–2. *Svastikāsana*
*3. *Vīrāsana*
4. *Agnikuṇḍāsana*
5. *Yoginyāsana*
*6–7. *Gomukhāsana*
8. *Tūrāsana*
9. *Kaṅkaṇāsana*
10. *Gandharvāsana*
11. *Śivāsana*
12. *Sāvitri-samādhyāsana*
13. *Maṇibandhāsana*
14. *Padmaprakāśāsana*
15. *Padmaśaṅkhāsana*
16. *Padmanābhabandhāsana*
17. *Bhairavāsana*
*18. *Matsyendrāsana*
19. *Matsyendrapīṭha-bandhāsana*
*20. *Paścimatānāsana*
21. *Kandorakāsana*
22. *Yonyāsana*

23. *Kuñjikāsana*
24. *Vibhuṣaṇāsana*
25. *Saptarṣi—āsana*
26. *Kadali—āsana*
27. *Pūrvāsana*
28. *Bhiṅgāsana*
29. *Trimbakāsana*
30. *Śeṣāsana*
31. *Tīkṣṇāsana*
32. *Jaityāsana*
33. *Bhagāsana*
34. *Kūrmāsana*
35. *Paṅkajāsana*
36. *Gorakṣajañjāli—āsana*
37. *Kapilāsana*
38. *Kākāsana*
39. *Garuḍāsana*
40 *Ghorāsana*
41. *Jāmāsana*
42. *Sarāsana*
43. *Dhātāsana*
44. *Pṛṣṭhabandhāsana*
45. *Viṣṇu—āsana*
46. *Gopyāsana*
47. *Vaitālāsana*
48. *Gaṇeśāsana*
49. *Yogapadayogāsana*
50. *Prabhākarāsana*
51. *Pārvati—āsana*
52. *Ajarāsana*
53. *Siṅhamṛgāsana*
54. *Nāgaphaṇāsana*
55. *Brahmāsana*
56. *Kurkalāsana*
57. *Cakravākāsana* (*cakavāsana*)
58. *Vaiśākhi—āsana*
59. *Cakorāsana*
60. *Kokāsana*
61. *Śūkacakorāsana*
62. *Ākāśatānāsana*
63. *Kuhi—āsana*
64. *Kilakilāsana*
65. *Daṁśāsana*
66. *Siddhamuktāvali—āsana*
*67. *Kukkuṭāsana*
*68. *Mayūrāsana*
69. *Maśakāsana*
70. *Ātmārāmāsana*
71. *Mṛttikābhañjakāsana*
72. *Phodyāsana*
73. *Maṅgalabandhāsana*
74. *Nidrānāsana*
75. *Vṛścikāsana*
76. *Kūrmāsana* (*Uttāna*)
77. *Pakṣyāsana*
78. *Abhikāsana*
79. *Ajagarāsana*
80. *Pāradhi—āsana*
81. *Ūrṇanābhi—āsana*
82. *Gohiāsana*
83. *Kapāli—āsana*
84. *Vṛkṣāsana*
85. *Tapāsana*
86. *Saṅgrāmāsana*
87. *Balijasyāsana*
88. *Vikaṭāsana*
89. *Karmāsana*
90. *Nāgabodhāsana*
91. *Haṁsāsana*
92. *Sarpāsana*
93. *Madhupāsana*
94–95. *Siddhāsana* (*Vajra, Gupta Mukta*)
*96–97. *Padmāsana*
*99. *Bhadrāsana*
*100. *Śavāsana*

* *Āsanas* found in printed edition of *Haṭhapradīpikā*.

Among the descriptions of *Prāṇāyāma* a mention is made of *Candrabheda Kumbhaka* and *Bhujaṅgama Kumbhaka*, the latter being a synonym for *Sītkāra Kumbhaka.* (*Kecidvadanti sītkāraḥ kecidanyāhurbhujaṅgamaḥ*). The *Sītkāra Kumbhaka* is advocated to be practised any time (*gacchatā tiṣṭhatā kāryam*). This kind of advice is given for the practice of *Ujjāyī* in the printed edition.

The text is full of useful quotations and advice like " *yoḥ karoti ghanābhyāsaṁ tasya siddhir na dūrataḥ* /). It emphasises on the fact that practice of *āsanas* is only a step on the forward march of yogic practices. It says :—

> " *Āsanena gato janma prāṇāyāmam na kārayet* /
> *yogadharma paribhraṣṭā gato janma nirarthakam* / H.P. III-83.

This indicates the purpose of *āsanas*. Varied description of the seat for the practice of *āsanas* is also found.

An interesting problem that is created by the Jodhpur manuscript is the mention, of ' *Siddhāntamuktāvali* ' along with ' *Haṭhapradīpikā* ' in the colophon. What is the relation of *Siddhāntamuktāvali* with *Haṭhapradīpikā ?* Has *Haṭhapradīpikā* something to do with *Siddhānta ?*

According to *Bṛhadyogi Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, *Siddhānta* means ' an orthodox system of philosophy ' and the number of these systems is seven which are enumerated as : *Hiraṇyagarbha*, *Kapila*, *Apāntaratama*, *Sanatkumāra*, *Brahmiṣṭha*, *Pāśupata Pāñcarātra.* However, the word ' *Siddhānta* ' refers to a work to be studied by those who seek self-realisation (*Ātmajñāna nimittaṁ tu siddhāntāni vicintayet// Bṛ, Yaj. Sm.*, XII-35). From this point of view Swātmārāma considers *Haṭhapradīpikā* as a *Siddhānta grantha* of *Haṭhayoga.* He mentions in the end of the text as follows :

> *Haṭhapradīpikāṁ śrutvā siddhānta granthamuttamam* /
> *tyaktvābhrāntimaśāstrāṇi satāṁ sadyaḥ parāṁ gatiḥ* //

In order to emphasize that his treatise on *Haṭhayoga* is a *Siddhāntagrantha*, he seems to mention this fact in the colophon of each chapter when he says :

> " *Iti śrī Sahajanātha śiṣyeṇa śrī Svātmārāma yogīndreṇa*
> *viracitāyāṁ haṭhapradīpikāyāṁ siddhāntamuktāvalyāṁ* .. *Upadeśaḥ* //

We do not find copies containing in the colophon the mention of " *Siddhāntamuktāvali* " except one which we could locate in the Bhandarkar Oriental-Research Institute, Poona vide No. 222/1884-86. But the contents of this copy do not tally with that of Jodhpur manuscript; they most tally with the printed edition. However, in this copy we find some topics and verses not available in the printed edition but are contained in the Jodhpur manuscript.

The fourth chapter in this B O.R.I. manuscript is incomplete. Therefore, we do not know the number of verses contained in this chapter. Similarly we do not know whether this manuscript contained Vth and VIth chapters. Two pages containing verses from 12th to 33 are found in this manuscript which belong to next chapter. Ten and half verses of the beginning of the chapter which describe *Kālajñāna* are missing. Even out of 45 verses devoted to *Kālajñāna* in the Jodhpur manuscript, only 17 verses in verbatim are available in this B.O.R.I. manuscript. Further portion is missing. Therefore, it is not known how many verses were devoted to this fragmentary chapter.

As compared to the printed edition, the end in the Jodhpur manuscrip. seems to be more appropriate than abrupt.

In the light of the above discussion it may be suggested that the Jodhpur manuscript represents original text of *Haṭhapradīpikā*. It was also called *Siddhāntamuktāvali*. In the later recensions much of the contents of the text was left out and the text was abridged. We have no means to ascertain whether Svātmārāma himself was responsible for this abridgement or some one else. The mention of *Siddhānṭamuktāvali* continued for sometime and later as we find in the printed editions, the name *Sīddhāntamuktāvali* was dropped out. The text of *Haṭhapradīpikā* seems to have passed through these three stages at least. But for the elaborate description and contents we have to turn our attention to Jodhpur Manuscript for study.

A NOTE ON THE HOME OF THE MAURYAS

By

APARNA CHATTOPADHYAY*

According to *Mahābodhivaṁsa*, Candragupta *Maurya*, 'born of a dynasty of kings (*narendra kula sambhava*) hailing from the city known as Moriyanagara, which was built by the *Sākyaputtas*, being supported by the *Brāhmaṇa* (*dvija*) Cāṇakya became king at Pāṭaliputra.'[1] According to *Mahāvaṁsaṭīkā*, some *Śākyas* being oppressed by Viḍūḍabha, went to the Himālayas and built a beautiful city there called Moriyanagara, as it was always resounded with the cries of peacocks. And these *Śākyas*, later called Moriyas, were the ancestors of Candragupta *Maurya*, who was the son of the queen of one of the kings of Moriyanagara.[2]

The association of the *Mauryas* with peacocks is also noticed in the Jain text *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*. According to it Candragupta's maternal grand-father was the chief of a village of peacock-tamers.[3]

Since one of the two sources of *Mahāvaṁsaṭīkā* and *Mahābodhivaṁsa* is *Sihalaṭṭhakathā* which is supposed to be the work of prince Mahendra, son of Aśoka[4], the story about Candragupta's ancestors that they settled in a Himālayan region which was full of peacocks, should be accepted as a historical fact. But uptil now, historians probably have failed to locate this area in the Himālayas where peacocks are found in large number. The *Moriyas* of *Pippalivana* mentioned in *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* cannot be the *Moriyas* of Moriyanagara, the ancestors of Candragupta *Maurya*. Because these *Moriyas* of *Pippalivana* had existed at the time of the '*Mahāparinirvāṇa*' of Lord Buddha, whereas the invasion of Kapilavastu by the Kosalan prince Viḍuḍabha started later, when Lord Buddha was no more on earth. So *Pippalivana* located somewhere between Rummindei in the Nepalese Tarai and Kasia in the Gorakhpur district

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[1] Mookerji, R. K., *Chandragupta Maurya and His Times*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, Varanasi, Patna, Third Edition, 1960, page 14.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 13-14

[3] *Ibid*, p. 14

[4] *Ibid*, p. 15

as suggested by a scholar[5] cannot be Moriyanagara because this region identified with *Pippalivana* is neither situated in the Himālayas nor it is a home of peacocks. And further it is to be noted that the rulers of this republican state were contemporaries of Lord Buddha, whereas the migration of the *Śākya*s from Kapilavastu towards that Himālayan region where they built Moriyanagara, started after the demise of the Lord. So Moriyanagara, located somewhere in the Himālayas was the original home of the *Maurya*s, who were originally *Śākya*s and who migrated to that region and built the city called Moriyanagara and came to be known as the *Moriya*s (*Maurya*s in Sanskrit) because of the fact that the region was full of peacocks and that the whole area resounded with the cries of the peacocks.

A region in the border of Nepal in Bahraich district suits perfectly the description of Moriyanagara found in the Buddhist sources. At a distance of ninety kilometres from Bahraich town there is a village called Salarpur, just on the border of Nepal. Gularibazar of Nepal is within walking distance from Salarpur. The village called Salarpur and the adjoining parts are full of peacocks. At night the cry of peacocks disturb the sleep of the inhabitants of the region and creates an atmosphere strangely fantastic. The people of this area catch peacocks and they cook and eat the flesh of peacocks. It is a regular practice with them. This practice of the people of this place reminds us of the habit of emperor Aśoka to eat peacock's flesh daily. Though the present writer had tried to prove in a previous article that eating peacock's flesh was a normal practice of the ancient Indians,[6] the region of Salarpur situated on the border of Nepal, inhabited by people who regularly eat peacock's' flesh, makes one inclined to believe that in all probability this is the original home of those *Maurya*s, whose ancestors had built Moriyanagar in the Himālayan region, resounded with the cry of peacocks and who came to be known as the *Moriya*s (*Maurya*s), and Aśoka, a ruler of that family, ate peacocks' flesh daily. The village Salarpur is situated near a forest on the border of Nepal. On the other side of the border. a district of Nepal, called Bardiya, is situated.

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[5] According to Raychaudhari, Pipphalivana probably lies between Rummindei in the Nepalese Tarai and Kāsiā in the Gorakhpur district."

Barua, B. M. *Asoka and His Inscriptions*, Part I, 3rd Edition, 1968, New Age Publishers Private Ltd. 12, Calcutta p. 49, foot note No. 5.

[6] *Indian Medical Gazette*, Vol. VII, No. 8, Dec. 1967; Editor L. K. Pandeya, 17-A, Madan Datt Lane, Calcutta-12.

Nagarjun, Vol. XI; No. 2, Oct. 1967; Editor L. K. Pandeya, 17 A Madan Dutt Lane, Calcutta 12, *Modern Review*. Editor, Ashoke Chatterjee, Prabasi Press Private Ltd., Calcutta-13.

Perhaps it will not be irrelevant here to add a few lines regarding the possibility that the *Moriyas* of *Pippalivana*, who are mentioned in *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, were the ancestors of Candragupta *Maurya* and the possibility that the Buddhist authors fabricated the tale of Moriyanagara being built by '*Śākyaputtas*' to give a high pedigree to the forefathers of Aśoka.[7] This kind of theory is however, simply conjectural. There is no evidence at our disposal to establish its historical value. We have to remember that our ancient history is based on data drawn from various sources. If no data is available for a theory, the theory has no foundation, and so it is not acceptable as a historical fact. In case of the story of the *Moriyas* of Moriyanagara as forefathers of Candrapupta *Maurya*, we have data drawn from the sources which are based on a work which comes from the pen of Prince Mahendra, the son of Aśoka, as we have already noticed. So the story of the *Moriyas* of Moriyanagara can not be called as an entirely fabricated tale of Buddhist monks, anxious to give a high lineage to Aśoka's forefathers. If we reject this fact we have to reject all the facts relating to Candragupta's birth and early life drawn from the Buddhist texts. In that case we have to search for fresh data to reconstruct the early history of Candragupta as a member of the ruling clan of the republic of *Pippalivana*. But such data is totaly lacking in our available sources for the history of the *Mauryas*. It is also to be noticed that the Jain text *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* too associates the *Mauryas* with a village of peacocktamers. So peacock plays a role in the early history of the *Mauryas*, even if we are not interested to give any importance to the figures of peacocks found in the eastern gateway of Sāñchi and also a figure of peacock in the lower part of the Aśokan pillar at Rampurva. Dr. Barua, however, gives his final opinion regarding the original home of Candragupta. And he says that in his opinion Candragupta was a man of the north-west. This theory leads to the total nullification of Buddhist sources for the history of Candragupta in special and that of the *Mauryas* in particular. How can we deny the value of Buddhist works for the *Maurya* history, if Dr. Barua cannot provide any convincing data to establish his theory ? In none of the sources of Maurya history, Brahmanical, Buddhist, literary or foreign, Candragupta is described as a man of the north-west. Under such circumstances we have to attach importance to the facts found in Buddhist literature.

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[7] Barua, B. M., *op. cit.* p. 49.

So, there stands the village Salarpur in the Nepal border. It resounds with the cries of peacocks. Its inhabitants are eating peacock's flesh as a normal and regular food. So it is possible that this is the area where the ' *Sākyaputta*s ' built their palaces which resounded with the cries of the peacocks and where they developed the habit of eating peacock's flesh since peacocks were found in large number in this area. Perhaps archaeologists may one day trace the remains of those palaces where lived the ancestors of Candragupta, the first historical emperor of India.

INTERPRETATION OF THE VOCABLE KŪṬIKĀ

By

B. J. SANDESARA*

Pañcatantra, III. 98 (Peterson's editions) refers to a small winged creature as *Pūtikā* -- *Pūtikā iva pakṣiṣu* (' like *pūtikā* among the birds '). But *Pūtikā* has no meaning and various translators and annotators of the *Pañcatantra* have interpreted this word in an arbitrary way.

Pañcākhyāna (1199) of Pūrṇabhadra also quotes this verse (III. 97), but reads *Kūtikā* instead of Pūtikā. A manuscript of the *Pañcatantra*, copied down in 1419 at Pāṭan, also gives reading *Kūtikā*. Apparently, this is a word of " Jaina Sanskrit " and is a Sanskritization of the Gujarati word *Kūtī* (' a very small bee ') which is fairly current in modern Gujarati. The honey from the honey-combs made by the *Kūtikā* is considered to be the best and is known as *Kūtiuṁ madh* (' honey made by *Kūtis* ') in Gujarati. Dr. J. Hertel, the editor of the *Pañcākhyāna* did not know much of Gujarati, *and but is* absence of any cross-references has come very near the correct meaning of this vocable, and by way of conjecture, he has interpreted it as ' some malignant creature '. Only ' malignant ' is to be removed from his note.

In his lexicon, the *Anekārtha Kośa* (II. 165) Hemacandra has explained the word *Kunta* as an ' insect ' and Abhyadevasūri in his Sanskrit commentary on the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* of the Jaina Canon (ed. of the Āgamodaya Samiti, p. 451), while describing different varieties of honey, has mentioned *Kauntika* which is the same as the variety mentioned above.

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* 6, Shreyas Society, Race Course Circle (West), Baroda.

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SOME PAINTINGS OF RĀHU AND KETU FROM GUJARAT

By

STEPHAN HILLYER LEVITT*

Among the manuscripts in the personal collection of the late W. Norman Brown which were recently added to the Indic manuscript collection of the Library of the University of Pennsylvania, there is a portfolio of paintings of gods and different secular themes from Gujarat.[1] One painting, for instance, shows *Śiva* with *Pārvatī* seated on his lap. Another painting shows the god *Brahmā*. Another shows *Gaṇeśa*. And still another shows *Sūrya*. Four of these paintings show figures of *Rāhu*. And three show figures of *Ketu*. Among the paintings of secular figures wearing costumes of the day, one shows a woman holding a flower to be offered in worship. Another shows a man in a rugged terrain holding a drawn bow.

There are, in total, 26 paintings in the portfolio. Their size varies (13 cm. × 10.3 cm., 11.6 cm. × 20.4 cm., etc.). The pallette used is yellow, pale yellow. yellow orange, orange, orange red, deep red, brown red, lavender, dark lavender, pink, flesh, steel blue, deep blue, light blue, dark green, bright green, green, light green, steel grey, dark grey, deep blue grey, light grey, a metallic dark silver, black, and white. The paintings date from no earlier than the 19th c. A.D.

On account of the rareness of images of *Rāhu* and *Ketu* in traditional Indian painting reported in the literature, and on account of the unusualness of the images of *Ketu* in this portfolio, I present here two of the images of *Rāhu* and the three images of *Ketu* in the portfolio.[2]

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[1] The style is the same as New York Public Library Spencer Collection Indian MSS. 44 and 46, both *Saṅgrahaṇīsūtras*, one treating tortures in hell. See the New York Public Library. Astor, Lenox and Tilden. Foundations, The Research Libraries 1971 : 2.912b-916c, and Elizabeth S. Rosen 1986 : 16; Also see various plates in Caillat and Kumar 1981, such as plates 27 and 28, for the style.

[2] I would like to thank the Library of the University of Pennsylvania for permission to reproduce materials from its collection.

Rāhu is the ascending node of the moon's course and the cause of eclipses, figured as a planet in the Indian tradition. Mythology tells that he was a *daitya*, or demon, present at the churning of the ocean, and that he sneaked a taste of the nectar of immortality which was produced at the churning. viṣṇu quickly cut off *Rāhu*'s head with his *cakra*, or discus. As *Rāhu* had tasted the nectar of immortality, he was thus now immortal, his head was given a place in the firmament as the swallower of the moon and sun.[3]

Ketu is in fact an earlier concept found as early as the *Ṛgveda*. He is markedly unusual phenomena, and meteors, comets, and falling stars in particular. He later takes his place as the serpent's body of *Rāhu*, as the descending node of the moon's course, and as the deity of meteors, comets, and falling stars. He too comes to be figured as a planet.

Rāhu and *Ketu* first appear in figure in the literature in a zodiac reproduced in line drawing in Sir William Jones 1799: pl. opposite 303. *Rāhu* is shown headless, in female form wearing a Western evening gown, and mounted on an animal which James Burgess 1904: 66a interpretes as a lynx, correcty I think, but which Edward Moor 1810: 285 interprets as a tortoise. *Ketu* is represented by a frog.

They next appear in Edward Moor 1810 : pl. 88 in a second line drawing of a zodiac, taken here from a color painting which was produced for a British army officer probably by a Jaipur artist. James Burgess 1904 : 62a characterizes this to be more like Hindu work than Jone's zodiac, where the dress is more Mogul in the main. The identifications in Moor's reproduction are in both Sanskrit and Persian. Here *Rāhu* is again shown headless, is black with red clothes in the original, is seated on what is described as a " brown owl ", and holds a mace and a lotus. *Ketu* is depicted by a head alone colored black in the original, resting on a carpet with a pillow behind it.

Though these illustrations are clearly labelled, it appears that they reflect some confusion. While *Rāhu* is referred to as *kabandha*, " a headless trunk ", *Rāhu* is generally depicted as the head and *Ketu* as the body, sometimes in female form, as will be seen below. And in the mythology, as has been noticed, it is

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[3] See Wendy Doniger O' Flaherty 1975 : 278 for one version of the myth from the *Mahābhārata*, and 336 for references to parallels in other Sanskrit sources. The concept and myth of *Rāhu* has become part of the vocabulary of Indian imagery. See, for instance, Norman Moseley Penzer 1924-28 : 9.87 and 88-9 fn. Here a king's decapitated head. as if it were the head of *Rāhu*, is placed before a second king's doorway, the implication being that *Rāhu* has come to pay homage to the second king because his *cakra*, or domain, is greater than the *cakra* of *Viṣṇu* which had cut off *Rāhu*'s head.

Rāhu who is conceived of as the head, and *Ketu* as his body. George Rusby Kaye 1920 : 62 refers to such confusion in modern materials.

Edward Upham 1829 is the next to show figures of *Rāhu* and *Ketu*. These are in color lithographic prints taken from drawings of the ten *bali*, of the *maṅgale bali*, and of the nine planets which belonged to Sir Alexander Johnston, Chief Justice and First in Council in Ceylon for many years. All told, both figures are shown together on 13 plates, and among these there are three different renditions of the two figures, with variations. The figures are labelled in Sinhalese and English.

In the first version, shown in plates 14 and 19, *Rāhu* stands before a horse. His head is a cobra's head facing forward, depicted in blue with black shading in pl. 14, and in blue and white with black line in pl. 19. On it there is a crown colored predominantly yellow with red and black line. His body is white. His lower garment in pl. 14 is pale blue, white and red, and in pl. 19 is pink, yellow and red, with black line and shading. His jewelry is yellow with red and black line. In his left hand he holds a fish, colored white with red and black line pl. 14 and blue, white and red in pl. 19. His right hand is by his side. The background is white in pl. 14 and black in pl. 19.

Ketu in these plates is seated with a very long curled up tail depicted using blue, black and white line. His body is white, while the crown on his head and his jewelry are yellow with red and black line. In pl. 14 he holds a manuscript in his right hand, while his left hand is empty. In pl. 19 he holds the manuscript in his left hand, while in his right hand he holds a rosary. In both plates he is placed over an indication of waves. The background is white in pl. 14 and black in pl. 19.

In the second version, shown in plates 28 and 33, *Rāhu* again has a serpent's head, facing sideways here. His body and head are white. His lower garment is pink, red, green, and yellow. with some black line. The jewelry on his body is yellow with black and red line. In his left hand he holds a fish. His right hand is by his side. Behind him there is what appears to be a serpent. In pl. 28 the background is blue. and in pl. 33 the background is red.

Ketu here is mounted on a yellow bird depicted using black and red line. His lower serpent-like extremity is colored pale blue with black and red line in pl. 28 and pale blue with just black line in pl. 33. It is not as lengthy as in the preceding two plates His body and face are white. His jewelry and headdress are yellow with some red and black line. In his left hand he holds a large yellow ring representing a *cakra*, or discus. His right hand is by his side, extending downward to his tail of his mount. In both plates the background is red, The third version is shown over and over again with minor variations in plates 29-32 and 34-38. These are the simpler and smaller of the illustrations. *Rāhu* is shown in full figure with a serpent's head facing sideways and holding a fish in his left hand and what may perhaps be a crook in his right hand. The figure is not colored in, but the clothing over the lower body and the serpent's head use red and black line. There is the head of an animal which cannot be made out between his feet, perhaps representing a sacrificial pit. pl. 30, it can be noted, is a little more elaborate in terms of the colors used.

Ketu in these plates is again shown in full form with the lower extremity of a serpent, though this is not lengthy. The figures are not colored in, but the tail and headdress use both red and black line. In these illustrations the figure holds what appears to be a noose stretched between his two hands. In front of the simply drawn figure there is a flame. Again, pl. 30 is a little more elaborate.

Without consistency in these illustrations. there is an occasional slight suggestion of a female form for *Ketu*.

Another zodiac is shown in John Francis Davis 1831 : pl. referred to on 31.[4] This comes from a choultry in the southern part of the Carnatic. Here all the *navagrahas*, or plants are each represented in a car of the same design drawn by four horses, with a driver, and within an outline shape of various forms. James Burgess 1904 : 62b notes that in the lower row, the divinities of the first and third square both have what appears to be boar's head, and he suggests that these represent *Rāhu* and *Ketu*. What James Burgess interprets as a boar's head may be a serpent's head shown from the side, as in Upham 1829. The first of these is enclosed in a flag of the burgee shape, the second in what seems to Burgess to be meant for a bent bow. This may instead represent the moon in one of its phases. On the whole, Burgess notes, the divinities themselves are drawn on too small a scale to be identified separately.

James Burgess 1904 suggests other renditions of the zodiac, and later George Rusby Kaye 1920 mentions modern pictorial representations of the *navagrahas*, and these no doubt exist, but I have not seen such reproduced in the literature. No further examples of Hindu zodiacs in painting, presenting Hindu zodiacs which are perhaps more traditional than those noticed above, have been reproduced in the literature available to me to date, though Pratapaditya Pal and Dipak Chandra Bhattacharya 1969 reproduce two traditional Northern Buddhist *Candramaṇḍalas* which will be discussed below.

We next get a reproduction of bronzes of *Rāhu* and *Ketu* from the *Sūrya* temple at Sūryanārkoyil in the Tanjore district of Tamilnadu in T. A. Gopinatha

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[4] This plate is missing in the copy of *RAS Transactions* available to me. I, therefore, rely here on the description of this given in James Burgess 1904:62ab.

Rao 1914-16: 1.2, pl. 96 facing 323. On the basis of other figures of *Rāhu* and *Ketu* discussed here, the labelling is perhaps incorrect, and " *Rāhu* " should be *Ketu*, and " *Ketu* " should be *Rāhu*. Both figures are shown in full form, with two hands each. In both cases the hands are in the *añjali mudrā*. " *Ketu* " is shown with a serpent's hood over his head, and " *Rāhu* " is shown with a serpent's tail. Gopinatha Rao notes that images of *Rāhu* and *Ketu*, along with the other *navagrahas*, are generally found in all important temples in South India, and in temples dedicated to the sun, *Sūrya*. We also get in T. A. Gopinatha Rao 1914-16, the first of several descriptions of *Rāhu* and *Ketu* according to Sanskrit sources. The texts noticed here are the *Śilparatna*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, the *Viśvakarmaśilpa*, and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*.

Next we get a series of reproductions and discussions of architraves, or rectangular stone slabs used as temple lintels, showing bas relief.

The first article to reproduce a number of such architraves is George Rusby Kaye, 1920. Kaye also notes that the *Śiva* temples of South India are often said to contain images of the planets, but on the whole definite records are lacking. He also connects sculptures of the nine planets with temples devoted to *Sūrya*, discusses the distribution of such temples, and notes a *Navagraha* temple in Kolhapur. And he notes material from Indic literature regarding the iconography of *Rāhu* and *Ketu*, and the other *navagrahas*. This is here taken from the *Agnipurāṇa*, the *Matsyapurāṇa*, the *Garuḍapurāṇa*, Varāha Mihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, and contemporary *paddhatis* or manuals of ritual and *pañcāṅgas* or almanacks. Also included in his charts is material from Konarak. This latter material is repeated in George Rusby Kaye 1924.

Willy Hartner 1938 also shows such architraves in figs. 6-9 (on 2 plates), though he treats primarily Islamic material.

Jitendra Nath Banerjee, 1941 also reproduces one such architrave, pl. 31, fig. 1, which shows only eight *grahas*, *Ketu*, being absent. He notes on 444 that this seems to have been the earlier convention, on the basis of the Śiva temples of Bhubaneswar, which also show the *grahas*. The lintel slabs from all the earlier such shrines from the Bhauma-Kara period contain only figures of eight *grahas*, *Ketu* making his appearance from the Ganga period onwards.

By far the thoroughest presentation of such material is contained in Debala Mitra 1965, which discusses about two dozen such architraves in detail, and makes reference to even more, including reference to such architraves at Khajuraho. The earlier of these architraves lack *vāhanas* or vehicles. The later are shown together with *vāhanas*.

Rāhu, as in all the architraves, is shown usually as a large head and upper torso with two hands opened outward before him in *argha* or *tarpaṇa mudrā*. In a few instances, a crescent representing the moon rests on his hands in such position. In a few instances, at Khajuraho, only his head and neck are shown, or else just his head and a major portion of the upper body. Occasionally at Khajuraho he holds representations of both the moon and sun. In one instance at Konarak referred to by George Rusby Kaye 1920 : 69 Kaye interprets *Rāhu* as holding a *vajra* or bolt in one of his hands. *Rāhu*'s face is usually peaceful, occasionally is smiling, and occasionally is of fierce aspect. When shown with a *vāhana*, this is interpreted by Debala Mitra 1965 to be what she refers to as an axle-tree with two wheels. In one instance, George Rusby Kaye 1920 : 69 interprets the *vāhana* shown to be a *vajra*, or bolt.

In the architraves discussed by Debala Mitra 1965, *Ketu* is absent and is placed behind *Rāhu* so his lower extremity cannot be seen. Generally in these architraves, though, his lower extremity is that of a serpent, usually just briefly indicated, but sometimes in as many as three coils. While the iconography of *Rāhu* is nearly fixed, that of *Ketu* is less fixed. Sometimes he is a *nāga* and sometimes *Ketu* is, in female form, a *nāgī*, with the attributes in his hands varied. *Ketu* may, for instance, carry a sword and shield in one instance, a sword and flames in another, a sword in one hand and the other hand in what may be the *jñāna mudrā*, or a sword in one hand with the other hand on the head of *Rāhu*. Usually, though, *Ketu*'s hands are in a *karapuṭa* or *añjali* posture. Rarely at Khajuraho, his right hand is in the *abhaya mudrā* and in his left hand he carries a waterpot. or he holds a waterpot with both hands. And in one instance in which he is shown with four hands, he carries a ring-like object, probably representing a *cakra*, a manuscript, and a waterpot, his fourth hand being broken. Over his head, there is usually the hood of one or more cobras, but in rare instances he is without hood. In one instance in which *Ketu*'s *vāhana* can be made out, it appears to Debala Mitra 1965 to be foliated leaves which may represent waves indicating the watery region. Elsewhere it also seems that *Ketu* is above waves. Debala Mitra 1965 notes that although *Ketu* did not appear on the architraves of the earlier temples in Orissa, he was already accepted as a *graha* at that time on the basis of textual evidence and on the basis of an architrave from Sarnath.

Debala Mitra 1965 also provides a detailed and very useful charting of the attributes and *vāhanas* for *Rāhu*, *Ketu* and the other *navagrahas* according to a large number of Sanskrit texts. These include the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, the *Agnipurāṇa*, chapters 51, 120, and 299, the *Śilparatna* of Śrī Kumāra, the *Matsyapurāṇa*, the *Mānasollāsa* of King Someśvara II, Sūtradhara Maṇḍana's *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa*, the *Śilparatna* of Śrī Kumāra, Part 2, the, *Śilparatnākara* by N. M. Somapura, the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, part 3, the *Bhūbanapradīpa*, the *Aparājitapṛcchā* of Bhuvanadeva, Sūtradhara Maṇḍana's *Rūpamaṇḍana*, Ṭhakkura Pheru's *Vāstusāraprakaraṇa*, the *Nirvāṇakalikā* (as quoted in the translation of the preceding work), the *Dīpārṇava*, and the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*.

Examples of *navagraha* architraves showing *Rāhu* and *Ketu* are again shown in Shakti M. Gupta 1977 : [pl. 27] and in George Michell *et al* 1982 : pl. 103 on 125. Shakti M. Gupta 1977 also gives a useful survey of the location of *Sūrya* temples. And Pratapaditya Pal and Dipak Chandra Bhattacharya 1969 show a *navagraha* architrave in fig. 17 not shown or mentioned by Debala Mitra 1965. Further, they expand on the survey of literature given in Debala Mitra 1965 by including a survey from Northern Buddhist literature. The works charted here are the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* A. *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvaramaṇḍala* and B. *Durgatipariśodhanamaṇḍala*, the *Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā* of Kuladatta, the *Dharaṇīsaṅgraha*, the *Dharmakośasaṅgraha*, and the *Pūjāvidhi*.

In addition, with regard to literary referenecs, Marie Thérèse de Mallmann 1963 : 82-6 gives charts of the colors and attributes of the *navagrahas* according to *Agnipurāṇa* 51 and 301, the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, the *Śilparatna*, *Matsyapurāṇa* 94, the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, and the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. And Philip Rawson 1973: 142 adds material regarding the visualization of *Rāhu* and *Ketu* in the Hindu Tantric *Mahānirvāṇatantra*.

Images of *Rāhu* and *Ketu* in stone on other than architraves are also shown in a few cases in the literature, and there are also a few instances of literary references cited which mention images of *Rāhu* with regard to the iconography of other figures.

For instance, Alfred Charles August Foucher 1900-5: 2.92-4 and fig. 7 on 93, and Nalini Kanta Bhattasali 1929: 43 and pl. 14 discuss and show images of *Mārīci* in which the car is driven by *Rāhu*. In Foucher's image *Rāhu* is represented by a head and upper body with two arms. The hands seem to be held before the figure, but they cannot be made out clearly in the reproduction. In Bhattasali's image *Rāhu* is represented by a head alone. Benoytosh Bhattacharya 1924: 211 also notes that *Rāhu* appears in the Buddhist images of *Mārīcī*, and this is mentioned later as well by, for instance, Bhagwant Sahai 1975: 243. Alfred Charles August Foucher 1900-5: 2.92-4 quotes from the *Kalpoktamārīcīsādhana* of the *Sādhanamālā* / *Sādhanasamuccaya* regarding the iconography of *Mārīcī* which includes reference to the appearance of *Rāhu* in these images.

Alfred Charles August Foucher 1900-5 : 2.73 also mentions in passing the appearance of *Rāhu* with regard to an image of a red *Tārā* as described in manuscripts of the *Sādhanasamuccaya*, it can be added here.

Nalini Kanta Bhattasali 1929 : 91 and pl. 35 suggests that in a *Viṣṇupatta*, on the obverse, a curious bust of a female figure in a boat may be *Rāhu*.

R. D. Banerji 1925 : 18, 32 and pls. 9 and 16 notes that in some *Trivikrama* reliefs one of the left hands of the god points toward *Rāhu*. In both plates shown *Rāhu* is depicted as a large face. In the second image the face is of fierce aspect.

This is referred to in Jitendra Nath Banerjee 1941: 419, but Banerjee misconstrues R. D. Banerji's prose on 18 and interprets the figure to represent *Rāhu* to be that near the upraised leg of the god.

Jitendra Nath Banerjee 1941 : 445 and pl. 30, fig. 1, and Shakti M. Gupta 1975 : [pl. 28] show a *Navagrahacakra* from Khiching. *Rāhu* here is represented again as a large head with two large hands in the *argha* position. *Ketu* is depicted with a snake's lower body. His arms seem to be raised over his head, with his hands clenched.

And Jitendra Nath Banerjee 1941 : 433 and 441 notes that *Rāhu* appears in images of *Sūrya*. In one image discussed, *Sūrya*'s horses seem to spring up from the head of *Rahu* In this regard, neither *Rāhu* or *Ketu* are mentioned in the discussions of the many images of *Sūrya* in U. P. Shah 1966 or Shakti M. Gupta 1977, for instance, but Stella Kramrisch 1960 : 90-1 and pl. 24 does notice images of *Rāhu* and *Ketu*, among images of the other *navagraha* in relief around the image of *Sūrya*, In the reproduction, though, the images, are too small to be made out.

Also Stella Kramrisch 1946: 322-31 and pls. 46-8, 50 refers to the *Kīrtimūkha* or " face of glory " of the Hindu temple aṣ being the face of *Rāhu*. That shown by Kramrisch has a horrific countenance with bulbous eyes, and is of somewhat abstract appearance.

Heinrich Zimmer 1955: pl. 374 shows an image of *Rāhu* in a niche on a large slab from Konark. *Rāhu* is depicted as the upper part of a torso with a face having fierce features. In each hand he grasps a crescent, representing the moon and sun. This reproduction is repeated in George Michell *et al.* 1982: fig, 106 on 125, alongwith a matching image from Konarak of *Ketu*, fig. 107 on 125. *Ketu* is shown seated in full form, with a head, and with the lower extremity of a serpent. In one hand he holds aloft a tall sword. The other arm is broken off,

George Michell *et al* 1982: 124 notes that free standing sculptures of *Rāhu* and *Ketu* are rare.

In traditional painting, the only two references to *Rāhu* and/or *Ketu* of which I am aware, aside from the early material noticed above, and perhaps aside from the material on an image of a red *Tārā* discussed by Alfred Charles August Foucher 1900-5 and noticed immediately above, and the other Indic literary references on the iconography noted, are in Pratapaditya Pal and Dipak Chandra Bhattacharya 1969 : 31 and figs. 14 and 15, and Collettee Caillat and Ravi Kumar 1981 : 190 and pl. 107.

Pratapaditya Pal and Dipak Chandra Bhattacharya 1969 discuss two *Candramaṇḍalas*. In these, *Rāhu* is portrayed as a dark and fearsome figure in the clouds holding two discs, one white and one red, symbolizing the moon and sun. *Ketu* is depicted as a hybrid figure, part human and part snake, holding a sword and a noose. In the reproductions, neither figure can be made out.

In Collette Caillat and Ravi Kumar 1981 *Rāhu* is shown in a painting from Gujarat depicting the course of the moon. He is in a panel in the lower left of the painting. He is depicted so as to show only his shoulders and head, wearing a yellow crown, yellow neckband, and yellow ear-ring. He himself is painted blue. Before him is a white crescent moon. Beneath him there is a chariot, with a driver mounted on its foreportion before both him and the crescent moon. The driver holds in a raised hand a stick, his other hand holding the reins attached to a mythical animal with lion's body and mane, but elephant's trunk and tusks, a *mṛgendra*, which animal is colored green with some black markings and with a red and yellow striped mane. The background is red.

When we turn to the descriptions of *Rāhu* and *Ketu* given in Indic literature in the sources noticed above, we find a much greater variety in the descriptions of *Rāhu* and *Ketu* than we find in the actual images. For instance, *Rāhu* is to hold alms, a sword, a shield, and a spear and be mounted on a lion, or he is to be mounted on a chariot drawn by dark green horses, or his hands are to be empty and he is to be mounted on a chariot with ten horses, or his hands are to be in the *argha mudrā*, or he is to be in the middle of a sacrificial pit. *Ketu* is to be depicted just as Mars, holding a lance, a mace, a spear, and having one hand in the *abhaya* or *varada* pose, and mounted on a chariot drawn by ten horses, or he is to hold alms and a mace and be mounted on a vulture, or he is to hold a rosary and a waterpot, or his right hand is to be in the *abhaya mudrā* and his left hand on his thigh, or he is to hold a serpent and be mounted on a serpent. This variety can be seen easily in the respective sources noticed above. Given the difference between the textual traditions and what we actually find in images of *Rāhu* and *Ketu*, George Rusby Kaye 1920 : 68 noted that there was little justification in the actual tradition for all the attributes noted in *paddhati*s and *pañcāṅga*s.

To give a clear idea, however, of the alternatives available in the iconography of these figures in the literature, I here list these alternatives as compiled from the above noticed charts first as in the Hindu sources, and then as in the Northern Buddhist materials. I make this separation here as Pratapaditya Pal and Dipak Chandra Bhattacharya 1969 : 39 note the marked difference between the two traditions.

Thus, in Hindu sources *Rāhu* is described as having his hands empty, as having them in an *añjali* position, as making the *argha mudrā* with is hands, as having one hand in the *varada* pose, and as holding a half moon, a sword, a shield, a spear, an ax, alms, or a manuscript and a woolen blanket. The sources differ as to whether he should have two or four arms, and one notes that he should be visualized as a severed head, deformed and evil. He should be blue, or black, or resemble charcoal, or be variegated in color. He should be mounted on a chariot with ten horses, a silver chariot with eight horses, a chariot drawn by dark green horses, a lion, or he should be in the middle of a sacrificial pit.

According to Northern Buddhist sources he also has alternately two or four hands, is mentioned once as being half a body only, and is mentioned alternately as having a terrifying appearance with distorted forehead and frowning eyebrows, as having a terrible look, and as the face of a fish. Alternately one of his hands is empty and he holds a fish, or he holds the discs of the moon and sun, and a shield and a sword. He should be reddish-blue, five-colored, the color of camphor, or green. He should be in the clouds, or mounted on a a snake.

Ketu in Hindu sources is depicted as having his hands in the *karapuṭa* position, or in the *añjali* position, or one of his hands should be in the *abhaya mudrā*, and he should carry a sword. a mace. a lamp, alms, a serpent, a rosary, or a waterpot, or a shield, a flag, or a spear, or he should resemb'e Mars and carry a lance, a mace, a spear, and hold his fourth hand in the *abhaya* or *varada mudrā*. He is to to be of smoky color, or variegated in color. One source notes that he should be visualized as a headless trunk, deformed and evil. He is alternately noted to have a snake's tail, be mounted on a snake, a vulture. interpreted by T. A. Gopinatha Rao 1914-16 : 322 as a kite, a chariot with ten horses, or a chariot with eight horses.

According to Northern Buddhist sources *Ketu* holds a sword, a noose, a noose of snake, a severed head, cock's feathers, or a rosary, or, with his hands in the *añjali mudrā*. He holds his own tail which resembles that of a snake. He is blue, the color of smoke, the color of camphor, or white. One source notes that he has an angry face. Another source notes his mount to be a cock.

The attributes and features actually found it is to be emphasized, are not always mentioned in the sources in Indic literature. We do note find for either *Rāhu* or *Ketu* a frog, a carpet with a pillow, or an owl as mounts. as we do in the early reproductions of Indian zodiacs. However, in that we do find instead of an owl, a vulture or kite for *Ketu*, and in that we find in the Northern Buddhist sources the posititing of a cock as *Ketu*'s mount, this may perhaps suggest a certain variability as to the bird which is to be used. We do not find mention ot *Rāhu* having a snake's head, as in Edward Upham 1829, or of the hood of a snake or snakes over *Rāhu*'s head as in T. A. Gopinatha Rao 1914-16. or over *Ketu*'s head, together with snake s tail, as in the architraves We do not find mention of *Ketu* having a female form as sometimes in the architraves, as there is sometimes suggestion of in Edward Upham 1829, and as found in one of our figures in our earliest reproduction of a zodiac. We do not find a

" wheeled axle-tree " as interpreted by Debala Mitra 1965 mentioned as a mount for *Rāhu*, or a *vajra* as this was interpreted by George Rusby Kaye 1920. Nor do we find mentioned as mounts for *Rāhu* a horse, or a decapitated animal head, as in Edward Upham 1829. We do not find mentioned as a mount for *Ketu* waves, or foliated leaves representing waves, as we find in Edward Upham 1829 and in the architraves, or a flame, as we find in Edward Upham 1829. We do not find as an attribute a lotus, as in one of the early reproductions of Indian zodiacs. Nor do we find for *Ketu* as an attribute a manuscript, as in Edward Upham 1829.

Further, only one Hindu source refers to a headless figure, as we find in both our earliest reproductions of Hindu zodiacs. And only one Hindu source refers to the moon as an attribute of *Rāhu*, as we find commonly in the architraves.

Interestingly, we find in one Northern Buddhist source mention of *Rāhu* holding a fish, as in Southern Buddhist images in Edward Upham 1829. And other Northern Buddhist sources mention *Ketu* holding a noose, or noose of snake, as in Edward Upham, 1829. Also, in one Northern Buddhist source we find mention of a snake as the mount for *Rāhu*, as we find in one of the sets of illustrations in Edward Upham 1829. And in Northern Buddhist sources we find reference to *Rāhu* holding both the moon and sun, as sometimes in the later architraves and as in the image of *Rāhu* from Konarak, while as noticed, only one Hindu source notes *Rāhu* as holding only the moon. In the frequent Hindu mention of a vulture or kite as a mount for *Ketu*, we find precedent for the bird mount of *Ketu* in Edward Upham 1829.

In general, however, though the wide variety of alternatives in the literature is not reflected in the actual images reported to date, and though what we find in the actual images is not always reflected, or reflected widely in the literature, we do find in the literature many precedents for and reflections of what we find in the actual images. For instance, we find reference in one source to *Ketu* holding a *dīpa* or lamp, and in one of the architraves we find *Ketu* holding flames. We find reference in that same source, and in several other sources as well, to *Ketu* holding a sword. And in that same architrave, and elsewhere as well, we find *Ketu* holding a sword. In a single source we find reference to *Ketu* holding a waterpot, as we find sometimes in the architraves at Khajuraho, and a rosary, as we find mentioned also in one of the Northern Buddhist sources, and as we find in one of the Southern Buddhist images of *Ketu* in Edward Upham 1829. We find reference to *Rāhu*'s hands being in an *argha* pose, as we commonly find them, in that same source. And widely we find reference in the literature to *Ketu*'s hands being in the *karapuṭa* position, as we frequently find *Ketu*'s hands. Also widely we find reference to *Rāhu*'s mount being a lion. And in our earliest reproduction of an Indian zodiac one of the figures is mounted on a lynx, while in the Jain illustration in Collette Caillat and Ravi Kumar 1981 *Rāhu* is associated with a *mṛgendra*, here a composite figure of a lion and an elephant representing the king of beasts. In this, though, we have a situation resembling that with regard to *Ketu*'s also widely mentioned vulture or kite mount discussed already, in which a Northern Buddhist source gives his mount as a cock, our second reproduction of an Indian zodiac shows one of the figures mounted on an owl, and one set of Southern Buddhist illustration in Edward Upham 1829 shows *Ketu* mounted on a large bird. In these two instances the literature suggests or reflects what we actually find, but does not detail its variability accurately. Some of the sources it can be noted, such as the *Agnipurāṇa*, chapter 51, and the *Nirvāṇakalikā*, seem to reflect what we actually find more accurately than others such as, for instance, the *Matsyapurāṇa* which seems to have been followed by many of the other sources, and the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. This observation may be illusory, though, on account of the scarcity of examples reported in the literature of *Rāhu* and *Ketu* in painting.

I now present two of the images of *Rāhu* and the three images of *Ketu* in the portfolio of paintings from among W. Norman Brown's manuscripts. These paintings are the only paintings of *Rāhu* alone and of *Ketu* alone of which I am aware. The images of *Rāhu* are not unlike that in Collette Caillat and Ravi Kumar 1981. The images of *Ketu* were identified by Srilal Joshi, Joshi Kala Kunj, Bhilwara City, Rajasthan, on the basis of fig. 3.[5] They are very unusual, though they can be seen to indeed be of *Ketu* on the basis of the tradition discussed above. In some cases their connection is to the actual tradition of images. In other instances their connection can be seen with someting mentioned in a single Hindu source, or in the *paddhati*s and *pañcāṅga*s referred to by George Rusby Kaye 1920 and 1924, or in one instance with something mentioned in a Northern Buddhist source. In other features they agree broadly with the Hindu literary sources.

1. *Rāhu*. Fig. 1 shows *Rāhu* figured as a head alone atop a lotus and over a chariot pulled by a lynx.

Rāhu's face is a deep blue grey. His hair and beard are black highlighted with deep red. His crown is light grey. Both his face and crown are outlined with black line, as are most features in the illustration. White is used for the eye, for some highlighting on the cheek, and to indicate jewelry and highligting for jewelry. The lotus on which *Rāhu*'s neck is resting is lavender and deep red with black line and highlighted with white. The pericarp of the lotus is yellow. Atop *Rāhu*'s crown there is a full moon colored light grey, again outlined with black and highlighted with white. In front of *Rāhu*, as if coming from his mouth, there is a crescent moon in light grey and white, outlined with black line.

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[5] I would like to thank Joseph Miller of the University of Pennsylvania for sending a copy of fig. 3 for me to Srilal Joshi, and would like to thank Srilal Joshi for his identification of the figure and for his copious and informative response. I would also like to thank Joseph Miller for placing me in contact with Komal Kothari, Director of Rupayan Sansthan, Rajasthan Institute of Folklore, with regard to this image, and would like to thak Komal Kothari for his very interesting and learned response to me.

The body of the chariot pulling *Rāhu* is dark green with black and red line. Some of the chariot's details and its wheels are white outlined with black line. Some details and some highlighting is in a dark metallic silver outlined with black line. The flange holding the wheels to the chariot's body is yellow, again outlined with black line.

Before the figure of *Rāhu*, and attached to the chariot, there is a banner which is deep red with white highlighting.

The lynx pulling the chariot is yellow with black and deep red line, and areas of white. There is a feather hanging from behind the ear of the lynx, of the same coloring as the lynx. All around the painting there is a deep red border, and then a yellow border. On the bottom of the painting this is followed by a lower border in light grey.

The background is orange red.

2. *Rāhu*. Fig. 2. again shows *Rāhu* as a face alone, with crown and crescent moon, resting on a lotus which is atop a chariot pulled by a lynx. There is in addition here a chariot driver. Not in this composition are the full moon atop *Rāhu*'s crown and the banner.

Rāhu's face is again blue grey, outlined with back and with features indicated with black. His beard, hair, and moustache are black. White is used for his eye. On his forehead, there is a deep red sectarian mark. The crown on his head is yellow with deep red dots and with white jewels atop its points, the whole being outlined with black line. In front of him and extending behind him is a light grey crescent moon, again outlined with black line. His neck is resting on a pink lotus outlined with black line and with lavender highlighting. The pericarp of the lotus is yellow with black line.

The chariot and the wheel of the chariot is an orange red with deep red and white lines. The top rim of the chariot is light grey outlined in black. The body of the chariot, but not the wheels, are outlined in black.

The lynx is yellow with black line, a deep red tongue, and a white eye.

The charioteer is flesh colored. His turban is orange red and deep red. His *dhoti* is green. Black line is used for outline and details. In addition yellow and white are used for jewelry, and white and black are used for the tufts coming from his turban. His stick is white.

Below the chariot is green grass with details indicated by black line. The background is lavender. Around the background is a dark lavender line. The entire picture is framed by a black line around which there is yellow with orange line. On the bottom of the painting there is a broad orange band, below which there is an area of yellow again. On top of the picture there is a similar band of yellow, orange, and yellow, but with black lines separating each color. Atop this, there is a floral motif of orange red and deep red flowers with yellow pericarps having black dots in the centers, and of green leaves, with black line used to outline the leaves and indicate the stems. This is on a white background. Above this is a band of yellow outlined with orange, and then an orange area again.

3. *Ketu.* Fig. 3 shows *Ketu* as a headless figure with four hands holding as his attributer a severed head, a sword, a shield, and a lotus respectively from *Ketu*'s lower right hand to his lower left hand. He is bedecked with much jewelry. Instead of being shown as having a serpent's lower extremity, he is shown as emanating from a serpent's mouth, much as *Viṣṇu* can be seen to emanate from a fish's mouth in depictions of *Viṣṇu*'s *matsya* or fish *avatāra*, for instance.

Ketu's headless body is colored steel blue. His torso is outlined with black line and deep red line. His armbands are light grey outlined with black line. His jewelry is indicated by white dots and deep red line. His scarf is yellow outlined with black line and deep red line. At its ends there is a white band and fringes indicated by dark grey and black line.

The serpent from which *Ketu*'s torso emanates is colored light grey outlined and with details, such as the serpent's eyes and scales, in black line and dark grey line. There is also some highlighting achieved by white dots. Jewelry is indicated by white dots and deep red line over black line.

The severed head in *Ketu*'s lower right hand is flesh colored and outlined with black line, with features and hair indicated by black. The eye is white. The sword in *Ketu*'s upper right hand is orange red and deep red. It is outlined with black line, and has jewels indicated by white dots. The handle of the sword is white. The shield in his upper left hand is black with white line. The petals of the lotus in his lower left hand are white with dark lavender line. The pericarp of the lotus is yellow with dark lavender line. The pericarp and lotus as a whole are outlined with black line.

The background of the painting is lavender. This is bordered by bands of dark lavender and yellow, and on the bottom of the painting by a band of light grey as well.

4. *Ketu.* Fig. 4 shows *Ketu* again as a headless figure with fourhands holding as his attributes here a severed head again, a traditional paper manuscript (that is, a book), a sword, and a *vajra.* or bolt respectively in his lower right hand to his lower left hand. He is bedecked with less jewelry than in the previous painting. But as in the previous painting his body is seen to be emanating from a serpent, The serpent here has three fins depicted around his head. Both this and the depiction of scales on the body of the serpent in all three illustrations of *Ketu* in this portfolio, suggest an aquatic nature of the serpent or serpent-like extremity of *Ketu*'s body by the artistic interpretation in these illustrations.

Ketu's torso is colored here a deep blue. His jewelry and the waistband of his lower garment are indicated using metallic dark silver. His lower garment is lavender and white crosshatching on a white background, with an area of white alone outlined by black line extending down the center. The scarf is steel grey with deep lavender line, and with black line at its fringes and used to delineate the scarf as a whole. Some of the lavender paint on the scarf seems to have worn off. All features here are outlined using black line.

The head of the serpent from which *Ketu* is emanating is pale yellow. The serpent's eyes are white. The eyebrows and pupils of the eyes are black, and the eyes and head of the serpent are outlined with black line. The body of the serpent is light grey with scales and outline indicated by black line. The three fins which stick out around the head are green with black line and slight white highlighting. The end of the tail which has tucked around his body is green with deep red and light white highlighting and shading, outlined with black line.

The decapitated head in the figure's lower right and is in flesh tone with the head's hair and features indicated by black line. The eye is white. The traditional paper manuscript in the figure's upper right hand is white outlined with black line. The sword in the figure's upper left hand is a metallic dark silver, outlined with black line. The *vajra*, or bolt in the lower left hand is also a metallic dark silver, with black line.

The background is an uneven deep red. The color has been put on more heavily in some areas. The border is yellow with dark lavender line.

5. *Ketu.* Fig. 5 is a more elaborate depiction of *Ketu*, and it differs from the preceding two depictions in several respects. *Ketu* is again shown headless and with four hanns, which hold as attributes here a sword and two maces. The fourth hand is empty. *Ketu* is again colored blue, but he wears here a fine and dazzling upper garment. Here his body is not seen to be emanating from a serpent, but rather his lower extremity is that of a serpent. *Ketu* is also seen here with a bird as his *vāhana*, or mount. And a banner, *ketu*, perhaps reflecting his name, is stuck in his neck which is oozing blood.

That the headless *Ketu*'s body is deep blue can be seen from his hands and neck which extend from his upper garment. His hands are outlined finely with fine black line, and white dots indicate his fingernails. These dots can also be seen on the palms and backs of his hands. His upper garment is orange with deep red line and some black line. There is also an overall pattern of three white dots on his upper garment. His armbands, wristbands, buttons and one neckband are indicated by yellow and are outlined with fine black line. On his armbands, there are red dots. His scarf is green shading into metallic dark silver, with white dots and black line At each end of the scarf, there is an area of yellow with deep red dots. The fringes are indicated by white dots. His jewelry is indicated by white dots.

Ketu's lower serpent's extremity is light grey with the scales indicated by an intricate pattern of white line. This lower extremity as a whole is outlined with white line.

The sword in *Ketu*'s lower right hand is light grey with a deep red line going down its centre. There are two white tassles coming from its handle. The sword is outlined with fine black line. The maces in *Ketu*'s two upper arms are also light grey. They are highlighted with deep red and with white dots, and are outlined with black line.

The bird *vāhana*, or mount below *Ketu* is colored yellow. There are thick brown red lines on its body to indicate plumage The bird is also outlined with thick brown red lines, and on its head there are brown red dots. The beak is colored orange. In the beak, there is a rosary of white beads. At the end of the tail, there is a light grey area, with fine white dots. The legs are indicated by fine black line. The bird as a whole is outlined with fine black line. The bird's eye is black, white, and yellow.

The blood flowing from *Ketu*'s neck is colored brown red. The banner of the burgee shape sticking out of *Ketu*'s neck is depicted of the same fabric as *Ketu*'s upper garment. It is outlined with fine black line. And the staff is fine black line. Atop the staff is a metallic dark silver bulb, hanging from which are white tassles.

The background is yellow orange painted unevenly and in a painterly fashion over yellow. Below this, there is a deep blue area. Above it, there is an indication of a portico colored yellow with brown red floral designs. The inner edge of the portico is light grey with white dots, outlined using black. Above this indication of a portico is a deep blue area, as on the bottom of the painting. The right and left sides of the painting are bordered by thin areas colored yellow.

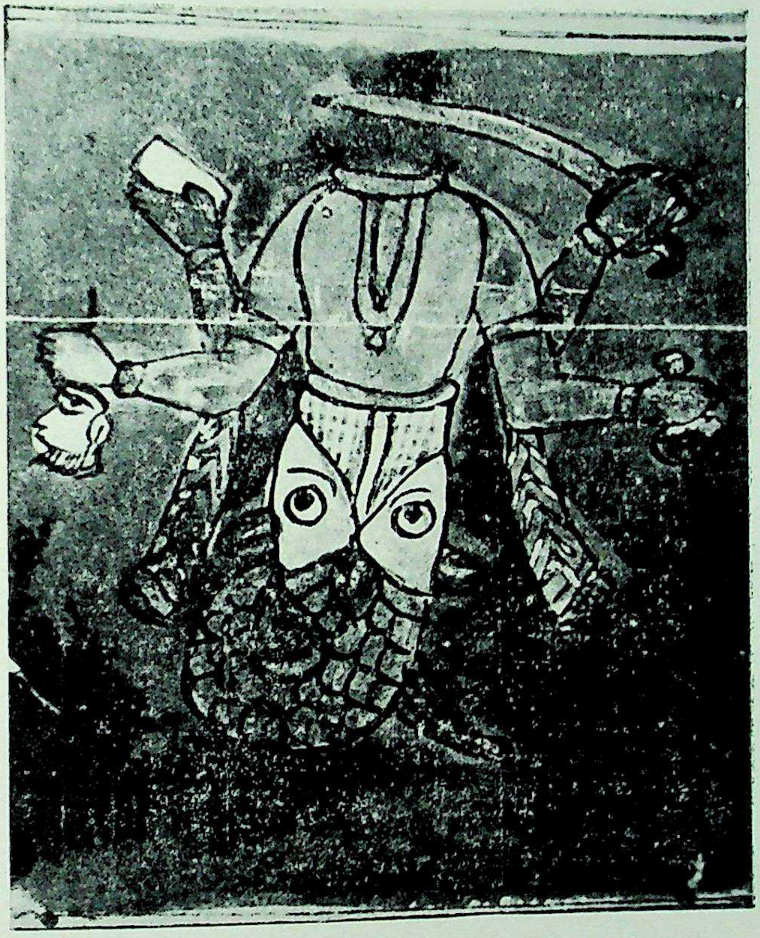

Fig. 4
Ketu

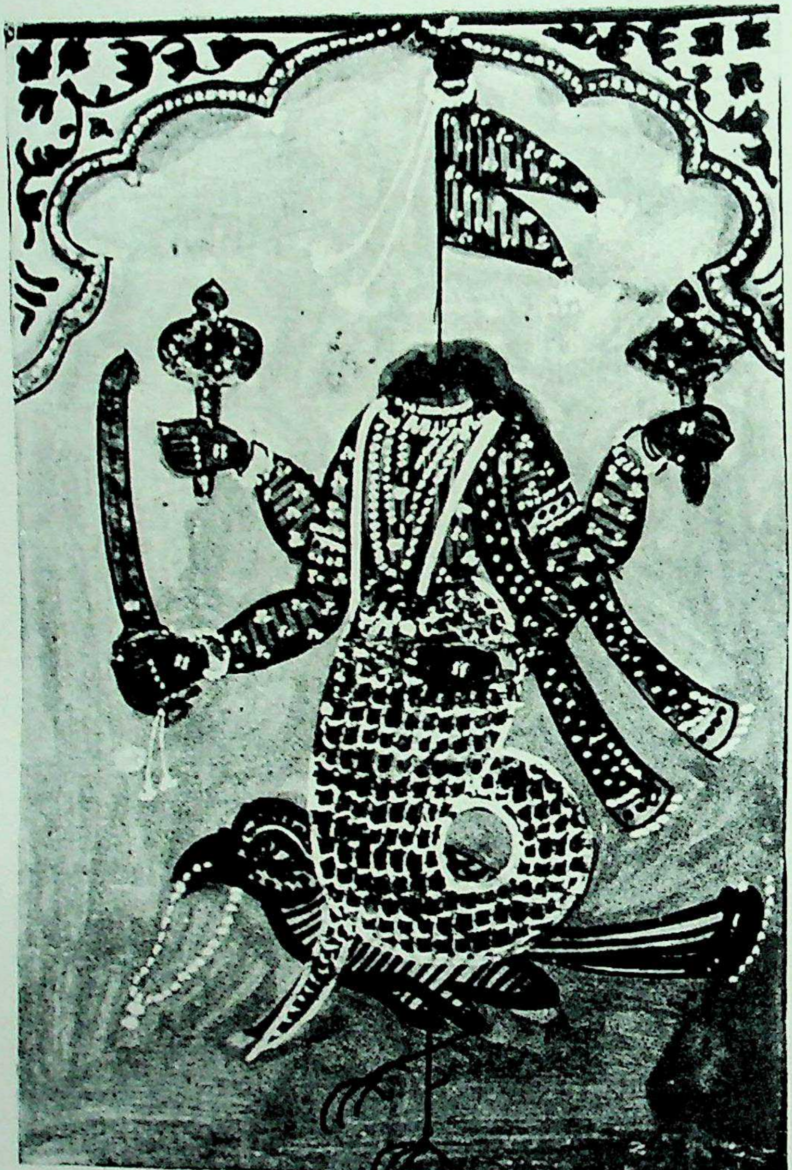

Fig. 5
Ketu

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લેખકોને :

૧ પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, ટાઈપ કરેલા અને એ શક્ય ન હોય તો શાહીથી સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા. ટાઈપ નકલમાં ટાઈપકામની ભૂલોને સુધાર્યા પછી જ લેખ મોકલવો. ગૂજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડણીકોશ પ્રમાણે જોડણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલવી. લેખની કાર્બન નકલ મોકલો ત્યારે તે અંગેનું સ્પષ્ટ કારણ જણાવવું.

૨ લેખમાં અવતરણો, અન્ય વિદ્વાનોનાં મંતવ્યો ટાંકવામાં આવે તો તે અંગેનો સંદર્ભ પૂરેપૂરી વિગત સાથે આપવો અનિવાર્ય છે. પાદટીપમાં એ સંદર્ભની વિગત આપતાં લેખક અથવા સંપાદક/સંશોધક (અટક પહેલી), ગ્રંથ, પ્રકાશક, પ્રકાશનવર્ષ, આવૃત્તિ પૃષ્ઠ, એ ક્રમ જાળવવો જરૂરી છે.

૩ ‘ સ્વાધ્યાય ’માં છપાયેલ સર્વ લેખોનો કૉપીરાઈટ મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ યુનિવર્સિટી, વડોદરા હસ્તક છે. લેખક અથવા અન્ય કોઈએ લેખમાંનો કોઈ અંશ લેખિત પરવાનગી વગર પુનર્મુદ્રિત કરવો નહીં.

૪ સંક્ષેપશબ્દો પ્રયોજતા પહેલાં એ શબ્દો અન્ય સ્થાને પૂરેપૂરા પ્રયોજેલા હોવા જોઈએ.

૫ પાદટીપોનો ક્રમ સળંગ રાખો જે તે પૃષ્ઠ ઉપર તે તે પાદટીપોનો નિર્દેશ જરૂરી છે.

સ્વાધ્યાય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

સંપાદક : **રામકૃષ્ણ તુ. વ્યાસ**

વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે—દીપોત્સવી અંક, વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક અને જન્માષ્ટમી અંક.

લવાજમ :

—ભારતમાં...રૂ. ૨૦=૦૦ પૈ. (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

—પરદેશમાં...યુનાઈટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઑફ અમેરિકા માટે...૬ ડૉલર (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

—યુરોપ અને અન્ય દેશો માટે...પૌં. ૨.૫૦ (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષની શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા ગ્રંથ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. લવાજમવર્ષ નવેમ્બરથી ઑક્ટોબર સુધીનું ગણાય છે, જે આ સરનામે મોકલવું—**નિયામકશ્રી, પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા મન્દિર, મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય, લોકમાન્ય ટિળક રોડ, વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨.**

જાહેરાતો :

આ ત્રૈમાસિકમાં જાહેરાતો આપવા માટે લખો—

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FLOODING THE WORLD WITH WEALTH : THE KING'S PLACE IN THE CONSECRATION RITUAL OF THE RAJSAGAR LAKE IN MEWAR

By

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The role of the king in medieval India

Considerable debate surrounds the question of the ritual role of the king in medieval India. On the one hand, certain texts give us an image of "sacred kingship" which recalls Hocart (1927). On the other hand, writers on the Rajput kingdoms such as Fox (1971) stress the development of kingship from chiefdom, with the essential character of the king being that of a "primus inter pares." Such examples seem to contrast with the evidence from Orissa (Eschmann, Kulke and Tripathi 1977). Thus, even if we leave aside, for the moment, the examples from South India, the picture is far from clear.

Ronald Inden has analyzed some of the most important texts relating to medieval Indian kingship (Inden 1978). As we shall see, the picture he presents, identifying the king with "Cosmic Man"—*Puruṣa*–is holistic, even monumental. There is a clear contrast here with Heesterman's interpretation of ancient Indian kingship (Heesterman 1985). In the view of the latter :

> "....We should be clear as to what sacral kingship means in the Indian context. The sacral or divine king does not derive his authority from a transcendent principle, but from the community itself. As the chief organizer and celebrant of communal festivals, he symbolizes its essential unity, He is, as it were, the nodal point where the relationships of cooperation and rivalry that make up the community and that are ritually expressed in communal festivals come together. But by the same token, he remains enclosed in the web of personal relationships that constitute the community. This position is felicitously expressed in a *brāhmaṇa* text when it calls the king the "embryo" (*garbha*) of the *viś*, the common people. In all his activities, he remains dependent on the community. He does not transcend it" (Heesterman 1985 : 131).

This passage, which is taken from Heesterman's comment on the *Artha śāstra*, often seen as evidence of centralized kingship, concludes exactly in a view

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of the king as "primus inter pares" (*Ibid.*) But it cannot be denied that the texts presented and interpreted by Inden represent a contrast to this view :

> "According to accounts given in several of the purāṇas and dharmaśāstras, the king incorporates in his person "portions" (*bhāga*) of the eight deities who are styled as "guardians of the world". (*loka-pāla*) or "lords of the quarters" (*dik-pati*). Each of these exercises a distinctively royal power, *daṇḍa* (coercion, punishment) in a different, complementary form and each rules over one of the cardinal and four intermediate "quarters" (*diś*) of the earth :
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> "The king (*rājā*) was emitted (*sṛṣṭā*) by the Self-generated One (*svayambhuvā*) who had drawn together portions of the gods (*deva-bhāga*) for the purpose of wielding the rod of coercive power (*daṇḍa-praṇayanā*) in order to protect all living beings (*sarva-bhūtābhigupti*). Since no one is even able to gaze at him on account of his radiant energy (*tejas*) the king is among the people (*loka*), a lord (*prabhū*) like the Sun (Sūrya, god of the southwest quarter). When a person comes to participate in divine favour (*prasāda*) by looking on him (*asya darśani* i.e. by having an audience with him), then because he is a source of delight for the eye, he becomes the Moon (Candra, guardian of the northeast). When he spontaneously pervades (*vyāp*) the entire world/every person (*sarvaloka*) by means of his mobile agents (*cāra*), the king becomes the Wind (Pavana or Vāyu, deity of the northwest) among the people. Whenever the king makes wrong-doers (*aparādhin*) shrivel up, the king turns into Death, born of the sun (Yama Vaivasvata, guardian of the south) among men. Whenever the king, on account of his majesty (*māhātmya*) burns angered and aroused men even though he might not desire to, he turns into Fire (Agni, god of the southeast) among men. Whenever the king makes gifts of wealth on all sides for the sake of giving itself (*visargārtha*) then he becomes Kubera (god of riches and of the north). Whenever he floods the world by showering down streams of wealth, the king is said to become Varuṇa (god of waters and the western quarter) by men learned in right conduct (*naya*). Sustaining all of the people (*prajā*) without distinction (*aviśeṣa*) by means of a heart strong in compassion (*kṣama*), the king (*pārthiva*) becomes lord of the earth (*pārthiva*). When he fully protects the entire populace (*jana*) with overlordship (*ādhipatya*) then he turns into Indra (warrior king of the gods and guardian of the east) compassionate toward all living beings." (*Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*) II, 71; Gonda 1969, pp. 24-33; cited in Inden 1978, pp. 33-34).

The point here, as presented by Inden, is how the qualities of the king are identified with the lords of the eight direction—or nine, if the earth is included. I do not contest this structural analysis, or even its intendedness by the composers of the text. By showing an example of a grand ritual in the Rajput context I am simply trying to show how the elements do not derive their meaning from a single structural pattern, but are juxtaposed and used singly or in combination to make different statements, sometimes capable of considerable alternative interpretation.

The Rajasagar lake

Maharana Raj Singh was crowned on February 25th, 1653. (Shri Ram Sharma 1971. p. 17). His ancestor Udai Singh had built the famous Udai Sagar lake near Udaipur; we are told that Raj Singh got the idea of the larger lake near Raj Nagar when on his way to marry a Bhatti princess in 1641. He was then twelve years old : " It is not likely ", says Sharma, " that such an ambitious project could have been thought of by him at such a tender age ". (*op. cit.*, p. 1). " But when as a reigning monarch he was on a pilgrimage to the *Rūpanārāyaṇa* temple at Sevantri near Kankaroli, he passed through the same countryside and halted at Dhodhunda, he decided to build a dam across the Gomatī, damming the waters of the Tala and the Kailana as well into an artificial lake. Mān tells us that the building of the dam followed three years of draught. For want of water the world was in despair and people went mad with hunger. Things unknown as food were eaten. The husband abandoned the wife, the wife the husband; parents sold their children. Time increased the evil, it spread far and wide. Those who got something to eat today, ate twice what nature required....

.... Rivers, lakes, fountains dried up. Men of wealth meted out the portions of food.... There was no longer any distinction of caste, and the *Śūdra* and the *Brāhmaṇa* were undistinguishable.....Fruits, flowers, even vegetable thing, even trees were stripped of their bark to appease the pangs of hunger. Cities were depopulated. The seed of families was lost. Fish became extinct and the hope of all was extinguished." (Sharma 1971, *Ibid*; the reference to Mān is to the *Rājavilōsa*, " an account of Raj Singh by a contemporary writer " (p. 135); otherwise the main account of the dam-building used by Sharma is Ranchhod : *Rājapraśasti Mahākāvyam*, a long poem written during and after the completion of the dam).

Thus we may infer from Mān that the building of the dam was, indeed, an act to " pull the constituent parts of the kingdom together " to reestablish " cosmic order " in the kingdom. Sharma notes, however, that the *Vīra Vinoda* a history of Rajastan and Mewar printed in 1887 but withheld from publication–it was published only after 1947—puts the building of the dam down to an " act of expiation " (Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 2.).

The building of the lake took 18 years (1660-78) and was an enormous undertaking for the time and the place. We are told that 60,000 workmen " were sometimes employed on the project " (Sharma, *op. cit.*, p, 46) and the total cost was Rs. 39.32.002 (p. 48)—numbers which attest to the scale and importance of the project. The dam is nearly three miles long; the lake about twelve miles in circumference (pp. 48-49).

The consecration ceremony

" The dedication ceremony," Sharma tells us, " of the lake had to fit the large amount spent on its construction and the great utility that the work held out for irrigational purposes." (p. 50). So " Raj Singh now sent invitations far and wide to rulers, thakurs, relatives, friends, learned men, poets, charans (bards) and men of piety " (*Ibid*).

The " architect " of the ceremony seems to have been the *Rājapurohita*. Gharib Das, who, in general, seems to have occupied a more central position in Mewar than was the case of his colleagues in Saurashtra. This is clear from other aspects of Raj Singh's reign treated by Sharma, and may perhaps be explained by the particular religious constitution of Mewar state (see also Stern 1986, Tambs-Lyche (forth-coming). In this, the senior of all Rajput states, the king was the Diwan of the god *Ekaliṅgajī*, a form of Śiva, who was the perennial ruler of Mewar. The *Mahanta* of that temple, however, was an office quite distinct from that of the *purohita*. (Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 17).

" The celebrations seem to have begun early in January. Three *Mandapas* were set up on the dam, one for the dedication ceremony, one for weighing the Rana against gold, and a third one for the giving away of Hataka saptasagar gift. These were tastefully decorated, with beautiful pillars, keeping the maṇḍaps open on all the four sides " (Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 50).

In the following we shall give in full Sharma's account of the ceremonies. The sub-headings are also his.

Appointment of various priests

On 10 January on the advice of the Raj Purohita Gharib Das the Rana appointed, as laid down in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, 26 " Ritvigs " (priests) for the performance of the ceremonies; one Brahmā (presiding director), one Āchārya (presiding priest), 8 Japakas, reciters of verses and 8 keepers of the gates and 8 Hotris (priests pouring in libations into the sacred fire).

Tulā Dāna

The Rana now announced that he would have himself weighed against gold and give away the amount in charity. This caught on. Soon there were other claimants for this honour and several other Maṇḍaps had to be constructed for the purpose. Purohita Gharib Das had announced that he would have himself weighed against gold, his son against silver. The Rani of Toda, whose husband was an uncle of the Rana, Rao Kesari Singh of Solambar and Barhatt Kesari Singh similarly announced their desire to get themselves weighed against silver.

Propitiatory rites

On the 14 January 1676 Raj Singh entered the Maṇḍap set up for the main ceremony. He had earlier gone through a purificatory penance. After the chanting of the Hymns invoking blessing for the enterprise, he worshipped the goddess Dharitrī (earth), Ganeśa (harbinger of happiness), Gotradevī (goddess of the clan) and Govind. The priests then duly entered upon their duties and were, as such offered preliminary offerings. The Rana then washed their feet. Thereafter the regular preliminary ceremonies for the dedication of the lake began. The god of ocean, Varuṇa, was now propitiated. This was followed by a *Yala-ratra* when the Rana went in a procession accompanied by priests, with ladies carrying pitchers full of water from the lake. After marching through the city the procession ended at the maṇḍapa prepared for the purpose. Here the ladies unloaded their pitchers which were tastefully arranged in rows. The Rana now propitiated the nine heavenly bodies, paid homage to Varuṇa, and propitiated Rudra in order to ensure happiness and prosperity in his land.

The Rana spent the night in the maṇḍapa alongwith others who were to take part in the Mahurta ceremony next morning.

Early on the morning of 15 January the Rana entered the main maṇḍapa accompanied by his relatives, including the ladies. In company with his chief Rani, he performed the worship of Varuṇa which, the poet declares, is equivalent to the worship of all the other gods put together. In order to make this lake another Ratnākara (ocean), the Rana now threw in nine precious stones, fish and tortoises. The poet tells us the alligators were also thrown in. It is difficult to believe that they were first captured somewhere, brought to Raj Nagar and then thrown into the lake. The Rana now worshipped a cow with a calf. Then followed the ceremony of Gotarana with a view to win victory in war and the destruction of the enemies,

Naming the new lake

Now arose the question of fixing a name for the lake. Rajasagar and Rajasamudra were the two names suggested. The Rana accepted both the names. An auspicious day was now fixed when the naming ceremony was performed on 20 January 1677.

The ceremony of the Parikrama

One of the most colourful ceremonies was yet to come. The Rana had to go round the lake before it could be named and dedicated. Rana Udai Singh had gone round Udai Sagar in a palanquin. Raj Singh however decided to do better. He decided to walk round the lake and walk barefooted at that. To begin with the entire retinu had to accompany the king on foot. But the Rana had mercy on some of his companions and allowed the chief Rani and his brother to get into palanquins.

The 14 " Koses " of the circumference took six days to complete. The Rana's progress was slow. Charities were being given away on the way, flower garlands being offered and accepted. So by five easy marches the Rana completed the ceremony. He must have began the " parikramā " on 15 January and completed it on 20 January to be back in the maṇḍap for the final naming and dedicatory ceremonies on 20 January.

Dedication ceremony, donations and gifts.

On 20 January the naming ceremony of the lake and the final dedicatory rites were performed. The sacrifice over, the naming done, after the last oblation had been offered to the sacred fire, the lake stood dedicated for public good.

In the sacrificial pavilion the Rana was accompanied by his brother Arsi, his sons Jai Singh, Bhim Singh, Gaj Singh, Surjan Singh, Indra Singh and Bahadur Singh, his grandsons, the Raja Purohita, Gharib Das, the Diwan, Bhika and various other princes and thakurs.

The gold " Saptasagara " donation was now given away. The Rana was weighed against gold with his grandson Amar Singh in his lap. Nine thousand tolas of gold worth the weight of the two were given away in charity. This was followed by similar Tulā Dāns by the chief Rani, Sadakumari who weighed against silver. Gharib Das had himself weighed against gold, his son Ranchhod, Rao Kesari Singh Chohan, Barha Kesari Singh and an aunt of the Rana all were weighed against silver.

All this, and much more, was distributed among the 46000 Brāhmaṇa who were present on the occasion. Gifts were also distributed among other guests as well. This over, missions bearing gifts were despatched to Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, Raja Ram Singh of Jaipur, Rao Anup Singh of Bikaner, Rao Bhavani Singh of Bundi, Rao Mukund Das of Rampur, Raval Amar Singh of Jaisalmer, Rao Jaswent Singh of Dungarpur and Raja Bhavani Singh of Rewa. Among those present on the occasion, the Diwan Bhika, Maharavala Ram Singh, who was the supervisor in-chief of work and Rana's aunt of Toda received substantial gifts. Bards and several other thakurs were also not forgotten. "

(Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-54),

Analysis of the ritual : its constituent parts

Now this is a large and confusing ritual. Let me go through the sequence in detail; we can then proceed with an analysis. The main phases would seem to be :

1. *Preparations :* the setting up of *maṇḍapas*. They are open on all sides to afford a view of the proceedings to the people. They are set up on the dam itself, which may seem to need no further explanation; note, however, that a victory, for expample, would have been celebrated in the capital. May be the main point here is that after all we are witnessing the consecration of the dam, not of the king.

2. *Appointment of priests :* This is explicitly stated to follow the rules of the *Matsya Purāṇa.* Thus, while the setting up of the *maṇḍapas* is clearly *adhoc* ceremonial, we here have a truly brahminical element. Unhappily, the source (neither Sharma nor, as far as I understand, the poet Ranchhod) does not give the context in the *Purāṇa;* probably—though judgement should be reserved—it refers to the ritual concerning the consecration of kings.

3. *Announcement of Tulā Dāna.* This ritual was, needless to say, exceedingly popular; equally, it was an expensive affair reserved for the most important occasions. I have not been able to ascertain so far whether there is a scriptural sanction for this rite. It certainly serves to make a grand spetacle from the spectators', and especially the recipients', point of view, as the weight of the king in gold is given away in charity. In modern terms we may perhaps say that the announcement of *Tulā Dāna* serves as advertisement for the ceremony.

4. *Response to the announcement.* It may have been thought that the weighing against gold was a royal monopoly. Clearly this is not so here. Most surprising is, perhaps, the *Purohita*'s taking up this glove, and adding to it the weighing of his son against silver. We gain the impression of friendly rivalry. Two priences junior in rank to the king join the fray, as does the king's aunt, the Rani of Toda. Clearly, the rite is not a royal prerogative, but to the supposition of rivalry we may add, of course, that these added instances of *Tulā Dāna* add glory to a ceremony presided over by the king.

5. *Purificatory penance of the king.* We should have liked to know more about this part of the rite, to compare with scriptural sources; but certainly, the idea that the sacrificer has to undergo purification before the ritual is a rather general rule.

6. *Hymns invoking blessing for the enterprise.* Note that these take place before the preliminary offerings is not likely to have been performed by the specially invited 26 priests mentioned under (2). We do not know anything specific about the hymns; otherwise, little explanation is needed.

7. *The king worships the Earth (Dharitrī).* This rite is apparently performed by the king himself. We are reminded of Inden's statement (above) that the king is the husband of the earth. We may assume that the worship is performed here to secure good crops, as the dam is basically an agricultural project; but it also serves, clearly, to stress the unity of the king and his country (see Inden, above).

8. *The king worships Gaṇeśa.* Gaṇeśa is not only the " harbinger of happiness " but also " the remover of obstacles " and the rite is familiar in

connection with any important undertaking. Thus, it needs little explanation. The king still serves as the ritual agent.

9. *The king worships his Gotradevī.* The word *Iṣṭadevatā* is not used here and may possibly refer rather to the next point. For this worship, again, no intermediary is needed, and the worship of the *gotradevī* is a common occurrence in the Rajput context.

10. *The king worships Govinda.* This can only mean Krishna. No intermediary is necessary; Krishna can be worshipped by anybody. But we may legitimately ask why he is worshipped on this occasion, and by a Śaivite king. The latter need not pose a problem: several Rajput kings are reported to have made pilgrimages to Dvārakā without in any way changing their religious affiliation. We know that Krishna was gaining popularity in Western India at this time, as witnessed by the establishment of the Vallabhācārya sect. We know, too, that the sect's most important image, that of Śrī Nāthajī, was "granted asylum" in Mewar Aurangzeb's destructions, in 1671. We may, therefore, perhaps be justified in regarding the king's worship of Krishna on this important occasion as a gesture towards an important and growing religious minority in his country, as likely as not represented among the merchants as an important social group. If so, it would fit a tradition of royal respect for minority religious groups which can be traced certainly as far as Vallabhī in the Saurashtra context.

11. *The priests enter upon their duties.* They also receive "preliminary offerings". Note that this cannot be the *dakṣiṇā*, which is always offered at the conclusion of the ritual. Still, since the gift is explicitly glossed in the text as gifts to a superior. rather than a fee to a functionary, it at the same time established the classical king-brahmin relationship in regard to the following ceremonies. Thus, the ceremony of the king washing the priests' feet is traditional and establishes clearly the implicit rank relationship.

12. *Propitiation of Varuṇa.* This is the first Vedic element of the rites proper (excluding the offerings). Varuṇa is here presented as the "god of ocean", which seems appropriate as an "ocean" is to be consecrated we may add that Varuṇa is perhaps more precisely described as the "lord of the waters". This god seems on the whole to take the central position in the consecration rites. Again his connection to waters is the most obvious reference. But note that the *Viṣṇuddharmottara Purāṇa* expands this meaning: "Whenever he (the king) floods the world by showering down streams of wealth, the king is said to become Varuṇa" (Inden 1978, above). Thus the propitiation of Varuṇa may also be seen as a propitiation of the wealth-giving aspect of the king, present in the ceremony not only in the dam,

designed to take better care of the rain showered by Varuṇa and at the same time the work and gift of the king; but also in the *Tulā Dāna* and other gift-giving ceremonies where the king, indeed, " showers " his wealth on the people. The relevance of Varuṇa as god of the western quarter may be said to be present here if we remember that rain in Mewar comes from the west (or rather southwest); but this reads like a construction. In short, Varuṇa's central role in the ritual would seem to follow from a relevant reading of his various qualities; it does not in itself imply a wider structural pattern.

13. *The Yala-ratra*, the procession " when the Rana went....accompanied by priests, with ladies carrying pitchers full of water from the lake. After marching through the city the procession ended at the *maṇḍapa* prepared for the purpose. Here the ladies unloaded their pitchers which were tastefully arranged in rows. "

14. *Propitiation of the nine heavenly bodies.* We are not told whether this was performed by the invited priests but that may probably be assumed. This would include, of course, the sun and the moon, but when the heavenly bodies are propitiated together, as in this example, we are led to think rather of the astrological ensemble. This certainly indicates cosmic order, and we know it was common in medieval India to perform such rites. " At the great festivals of the Hindus ", says Ward, " a small offering is made to all the planets at once; but excepting on these occasions, they are never worshipped together. They are, however, freqently worshipped separately by the sick and unfortunate who suppose themselves to be under the baneful influence of one or other of them. At these times they are worshipped one after the other in regular succession. " (Ward, II, 70; cited by Wilkins 1882/1975, p. 431). I have found no reference to a more particular meaning of this rite.

15. *Homage to Varuṇa.* This reads like a repetition of (12), and we shall see that it returns once more. I have little to add; Varuṇa's central place in the ceremony has already been discussed. It seems that Varuṇa is propitiated at all the major stages of the ceremony. I shall comment further on this elements later.

16. *Propitiation of Rudra.* This is the only place where Rudra appears, and it may be important that he here appears immediately after Varuṇa. Rudra —the terrible—may be seen as synonymous with Indra, his effective successor in the Vedic pantheon; when Inden Cites the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* as saying : " When he fully protects the entire populace (*jana*) with overlordship (*ādhipatya*) then he (the king) turns into Indra (warrior king of the gods and guardian of the east) compassionate toward all living

beings" (Inden, *op. cit.*)—we may assume that it is the same, protective aspect of kingship that is referred to here. Like Indra, Rudra stands here for Dumezil's "second functio", the warrior-protector. We may therefore perhaps read the phrase "in order to ensure happiness and prosperity in his land" (Sharma, *op. cit.*) with the stress on ensure, making safe; i.e. to protect. Taken together, the worship of Varuṇa and Rudra here would then mean, first, to gain prosperity, and, secondly, to guard it.

17. *Worship of Varuṇa.* Now, on the next day, Varuṇa returns for the third and last time, but this time the chief Rani takes part in the worship. If we remember that the king opened the ceremonial by worshipping the earth, his "wife" in metaphorical terms (see Inden above, p. xx), he now joins the earth in the metaphorical form of his chief Rani in propitiating Varuṇa as the god of plenty, i.e. fertility. The statement of the poet, that the worship of Varuṇa is "equivalent to the worship of all the other gods put together", may be read here as a eulogy of the ritual; as an echo of certain hymns to Varuṇa as the "sovereign ruler of the universe" (e.g. Muir, p. 58 ff, cited in Wilkins, 1882/1975 p. 38); or as a statement that in this particular ritual, Varuṇa takes the prominent place and thereby makes the worship of other gods superfluous.

18. *Ritual to make the lake into a true ocean.* These acts—of which the "planting" of crocodiles seem less fantastic to this author than to Sharma (*op. cit.*) and may perhaps be accepted (crocodiles were certainly "planted" in certain temple lakes of present—day Bangladesh"—need little explanation in themelves. We may, however, wonder about the nine precious stones, which, I think, are the submarine counter-parts of the heavenly bodies. Otherwise, the most notable fact here is the placing of the rite between the final rite to Varuṇa—responsible for the lake in his capacity of good of water as well as of prosperity and plenty, and the final rite in this sequence (below).

19. *Gotaraṇa.* This ceremony, performed "with a view to win victory in war and the destruction of the enemies", would seem to parallel the propitiation of Rudra the day before. Standing in the same relationship to the worship of Varuṇa, we again see the second function of Dumezil added to the first.

20. *Naming of the lake—proposals.* Note that only the proposals are made at this stage. The king accepts both proposals, showing solomonic judgment; the naming ceremony is fixed in time, but not performed.

21. *Parikrama.* This clearly constitutes a ritual circumambulation of the lake. At the same time, it takes the form of an extended audience (*darśana*) in making the king accessible to the people. If we see the earlier stages as

establishing a relationship between the lake and the gods—a transcendental aspect of the rites—then this tour, on which the king is endlessly garlanded by his subjects, may be seen as establishing the lake with them, with "the community" in Heesterman's terms. We may of course also see the tour as the equivalent of the "chariot ride" between the unction and the inthronation in the consecration of a king (Heesterman, *op. cit.*,) but there is no reason why we should not accept both interpretations as alternative ways of "saying the same thing". Finally, the king's insistence on making the trip barefoot when his predecessor had peformed the rite—and a much shorter tour—in palanquin attests not only to the aspect of the rites as a spectacle, but also to the wish of the king to improve his standing in the annals of bards, of "history" : in this way, what he could not gain by being first, he gains by doing more or better.

22. *Naming ceremony*. We do not get much information about the rite as such, but we may infer from the next point that this was also a function performed by the invited Brahmins.

23. *Final dedicatory rites.* The reference to the sacred fire implies that the invited Brahmins were performing these rites. The worrship of Agni in itself implies a reference to the first, priestly function of Dumezil, for Agni is "the domestic priest who rises before the dawn, and who consecrates in his own person and exercises in a higher sense all the various sacrificial offices which the Indian ritual assigns to a number of different human functionaries" (Wilkins 1882/1975, pp. 22-23; here paraphrasing Muir pp. 119ff). As noted below, we may assume that the priests, on "entering their offices", start their ritual performance with invoking Agni. This is the necessary start of all "vedic" ritual, without which no sacred fire can burn. Thus Agni begins and ends the brahmanic section of the ritual.

24. *The Saptasāgara donation.* For this gift of "seven oceans" of gold Sharma's commentary is important : "Though the gifts bear classical names as in the works of the jurists like Hemādri," he says, referring in general to the many "classical" gifts mentioned in his sources from medieval Rajastan, "there is every reason to suggest that they were *equivalents* of those classical gifts rather than gifts as described by Hemādri in his *Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi*." (Sharma 1971, *op. cit*, p. 42). "The greatest gift of them all, gold *Saptasāgara* given away by Raj Singh at the time of dedicating the dam in 1732 (1676), is praised highly and described but not evaluated. Seven vessels of gold were given in charity, each filled with one of the following : salt, milk, ghee, *guḍa* (brown unrefined sugar in bulk), curd, ghee mixed with sugar and water." (*Ibid.*) In short, we find that the equivalents, while still impressive and valuable, do not share

the fantastic character one might otherwise read into the texts. As ceremonial, these gifts seem to serve a double purpose; as valuable gifts of charity they underline the image of the king as source of wealth, identified elsewhere in the ceremonial with Varuṇa; at the same time, their identification with the legendary gifts of the texts add grandeur and prestige to the occasion.

25. *Tulā Dāna.* We note that the king has added his grandson for good measure. Is this an attempt to outdo his *Rājapurohita* or at least make sure that his weight exceeds that of Gharib Das? At any rate, it is clearly an added piece of " showmanship " to add to his image of generosity. We are told that " the weight of the Rana and his grandson together, of 9000 tolas as in the text works out at 2 maunds and 22½ seers. The grandson was less than three years old " (Sharma, *op. cit.*, footnote to p. 53). This was an enormous sum by any standards and was clearly the culmination of the ceremony from the spectators' (and recipients'!) point of view. The weighing of the Rani followed, then Gharib Das, then his son, and then the two junior princes, the king's aunt weighing in at the end. Apparently at the same time, other gifts were distributed.

26. *Dispatch of gift-giving missions.* We may note the absence of a gift to the Mughal emperor, formally speaking the king's overlord, on this occasion. The main recipients are other important kings and princes of Rajastan, evidently not present at the occasion, in spite of invitations.

The three sequences of the ritual

It is now possible to divide the ritual proceedings into three sections. One sequence, starting with the building of *maṇḍapas* and ending with the dispatch of the gift-giving missions, is largely secular in character. Here, the main stress is on the material spending of the king in terms of gift-giving, charity, and of the conducting of all ceremonies in a style appropriate to a true king. Another section, encompassed in time and in terms of spectacle by the first, but at the same time forming the central part of the proceedings, is formed by the brahminical ritual. This starts with the appointment of priests and finishes with the last oblations to Agni. Two other elements, which may perhaps by placed together in a third section, consists of ritual acts by the king without the intermediary of the Brahmins. This is formed by the king's own devotional acts, with which he opens the ritual proceedings, and his tour around the lake. Perhaps his " planting " of animal life and precious stones in the lake should be added to this sequence. These three sections of the ritual are not unrelated, but for purposes of analysis we may, for the moment, treat them as three different levels of ritual, each with its own particular logic.

First sequence. In terms of spectacle, this secular section encompasses the other two, both in the time sequence and in the sense that it provides the setting for them. The setting up of the *maṇḍapas* quite literally places the ritual in space and time. Note that the gift-giving ceremony receives two separate *maṇḍapas*, the dedication ceremony only one. This may perhaps also be seen to indicate the paramount importance of these basically secular elements. It is clear that care is taken to produce *maṇḍapa* buildings in tune with the importance of the ceremony. When the final gift-giving and weghing ceremonies are performed, the Rana adds to the promise made at its announcement by adding his grandson's weight to his own, thereby, incidentally, also showing the future extension of his line. The weighing of the other notables add to the occasion. The role of Gharib Das here seems to emphasize his secular as well as priestly role; we have already noted that this double role of the king's *purohita* is probably special to Mewar. It may also be special to the person Gharib Das, who seems from other contexts to have been an exceptional individual. Finally, allowing him to be weighed just after the king may be seen as a honour accorded him for his special services, not least in orchestrating this important ritual. If so, the act of the king in allowing his *purohita* such exposure may also be read as a demonstration of his generosity, and generosity to a Brahmin too.

In short, the whole of this sequence is clearly designed to demonstrate the king's generosity. He appears here, in a concrete and secular sense, indeed as the aspect of the king governed by Varuṇa (Inden, above) : he indeed " floods the world by showering down streams of wealth." Varuṇa is, with Mitra, one of the two main gods of the first function of Dumezil's analysis (1977). But Inden's text establishes, so to speak, a link between this transcendent role of the god and earthly fertility. In this sense, the whole of the sequence is dedicated to the third function, or rather the king's role in relation to that function.

The king's role as gift-giver is intrinsic to what has been called the " contractual " basis of royal authority in India. Though as giftgiver he is clearly " above " the community, he is hardly " outside " it in cosmic terms. These rites therefore mediate between the transcendental and community base of his authority; he acts like Varuṇa, but in the purely secular sense.

Second sequence. The central place of Varuṇa in this sequence, therefore, mirrors exactly, on the ritual level, the image of the king produced on a secular level by the first sequence. As we know, the sacrificer becomes the sacrifice in Vedic ritual; here the king becomes Varuṇa. But such identification is only possible by proper ritual; this has to be begun by propitiating the Brahmins (Offerings), touching and washing the feet of the Brahmins) who in their turn, as the priests of men and gods among them. have to open the proceedings by invoking Agni, the priest of the gods and a god among gods.

Then, Varuṇa is propitiated. This constitutes the first main element of the sequence and sets the tune for it.

And here, there is an important point to note. Varuṇa is not only the god of the waters; he is not only the gift-giver. It is he who " is the patron and the model of the king in the ceremony of his consecration, the *rājasūya*, where many of the sequences are justified by what Varuṇa did or submitted to, " when he was consecrated " (Dumezil 1977, p. 4). In the first sequence, then, Varuṇa as gift-giver serves as " model " for the king; here, in the second sequence, and through the intermediary of the Brahmins, he becomes the patron. He becomes the kingpin, as it were, of the king's transcendental authority.

After the *Yala-ratra*, the nine heavenly bodies are propitiated, probably as an appropriate start to the central elements of the rite. Varuṇa is paid homage, followed by propitiation of Rudra. Here the second function enters the scene, and we may see this central part as celebrating the whole of the king's authority and cosmic position through these two main aspects of his role. He is both the giver of wealth and the protector of it, and through the sacrifice he becomes one with the gods.

On the next day, the same sequence is basically repeated in a slightly different form, giving redundance to the same message. It is interspersed with the " finishing " of the lake. Thus the gift of the dam is made (the Varuṇa aspect), it is finished, and then given protection (*Gotaraṇa*).

Finally, after the name-giving ceremony, the priests make the last oblations to Agni, rounding off the sequence in the same way it was begun. These brahmanical rites thus show symmetry; they integrate the three functions of society; but the Varuṇa aspect of bestower of wealth is given central place.

In invoking the transcendental base of the king's authority, these rites clearly take the king " out of the community " in Heesterman's terms (above).

Third sequence. This sequence is, in a way, more problematic than the others, showing less integration. To some extent we may say that the elements here are " lumped together " without apparent inner consistency. But the rites have this in common: they are non-brahminical; they are rites where, to a greater extent than the others, the king " represents " or interacts with his subjects; and they are not gift-giving rites.

We may start here with the purification of the king, which is necessary for the rites performed by him as well as for his role of sacrificer in the second sequence. The rites performed to the Earth, to Gaṇeśa, to his *Gotradevī* and to Krishna are all performed without the intermediary of the priest. In propitiating the earth he is acting out his status as king on behalf of the community. Gaṇeśa is propitiated for the success of the enterprise. The *Gotradevī* is propitiated on behalf of the royal clan (*gotra*) as well as himself. He is, by definition, its senior member. The propitiation of Krishna we have already discussed; it may be a result of personal respect for the god or a "political" move to honour a religious minority in the kingdom.

I have put the *Yala-ratra* here, as also the "finishing" of lake. Both seem to me to carry the same message of making public and finalizing the work of creating an "ocean"; first, naturally, by celebrating the water—a ritual dirst "fetching of water from the lake"—then by furnishing the "empty" lake with the life appropriate to it. In taking the women as water-carriers, he clearly emphasizes the part of the community. When he throws the precious stones, fishes, etc. into the lake in front of everybody, he acts on behalf of the community in their presence.

It is important to note that the king does not simply choose a name for the lake himself. Rather, the "community" is brought in to make proposals, from which the king makes his selection. This simple element stresses beautifully the Hindu view of the king as one who takes and makes use of good advice.

The *Parikramā* further stresses this "contractual" or "democratic" aspect of the king's role. For this reason I prefer to see the aspect of "taking the king back into the community" as the paramount one in this rite. Yet other elements, especially that of choosing to walk barefoot, indicates that there is also an intention of "going abroad" with (symbolically) ascetic elements. There seems to be no warrior aspect of this circumambulation, which further strengthens this interpretation.

Thus in all the rites of the third section, the king acts on behalf of or as the prime member of the community. The rites are not performed by Brahmin intermediaries.

Conclusions.

The structure of the ritual as a whole can now be seen. On the one hand, the second sequence of the rites takes the king out of the community and invests him, by the interedmiary of the Brahmins, with transcendent authority, in that he becomes one with Varuṇa and also with Rudra.

On the other hand, in the third sequence, he demonstrates his unity and solidarity with his subjects; he is part of the community.

The duality of the royal consecratory rites as analysed by Heestermans and Inden (both 1978) is thus apparent in this late medieval ritual, even if evidently designed for a different purpose (though, since the Vedic consecration rites were arranged cyclically and had to be repeated at intervals (authors cited above) we might indeed see the rite as *also* a rite of royal consecration, or rather a confirmation of such a rite).

But in this rite the duality is mediated by the elements that encompass it and form the first sequence, were the king, as gift-giver and—not to forget—the giver of the lake—acts out the Varuṇa aspect of kingship in a secular and concrete form.

What, then, is the general image that emerges of the medieval Indian ruler from this meterial ? He is surely not at the hands of his ritual experts; he himself emerges as the central figure. As gift-giver, as the bestower of wealth, he surely becomes more than a primus inter pares; but it is this demonstrative ritualization of economic redistribution, rather than the transcendent sanction of the brahminic part of the ritual, that " steals the show ". In the sense that the ritual identifies him with Varuṇa, it is meaningless neither in the ritual nor in the more worldly sense; but the strength of the identification lies in its underpinning by purely material gifts well presented.

Is he a sacred king ? The only possible answer seems to be : " Yes and no ". He is sacred in the sense that he can, through employing the proper specialists, appear to become Varuṇa. But in the context of the ritual as a whole, this identification remains an embellishment only of what, in its essence, is simply a well-presented version of the landowner's great redistributive feast,

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THE MEDIAN KALIṄGA SCRIPT

By

SUBRATA KUMAR ACHARYA*

The so-called "Kaliṅga Script" has already gained currency among the palaeographers. At some palaces, it has been referred to as "Early Kaliṅga Script" and "Late Kaliṅga Script", and at others as "Elder Kaliṅga Script" and "Younger Kaliṅga Script". The Early or Elder Kaliṅga script is the script used in the Hāthīguṁphā and subsequent inscriptions upto the 4th century A.D., whereas the script used in the copper plate grants of the Eastern Gaṅgas from the seventh to the twelfth century A.D. has been characterised as Late or Younger Kaliṅga script. But a systematic study of the scripts used in the copper plate inscriptions of the instervening period (c. A.D. 350-A.D. 690) still remains in desideratum. The purpose of the present paper is to make a clear observation of characteristics of this period. In the light of these observations, we tempt to select an appropriate nomenclature.

From the middle of the fourth century the Māṭharas and later on the Eastern Gaṅgas ruled over the Kaliṅga region. They had issued a number of copper plate grants written in a unique style. The alphabet used in the inscriptions of the Eastern Gaṅgas from the close of the seventh century to the twelfth century has been recognised as a class by itself, the Late or Younger Kaliṅga Script.[1] Prior to the introduction of this script, the Māṭharas and the early Eastern Gaṅgas were using a different kind of script which had a distinct peculiarity of its own.

This peculiar character was in vogue in this region right upto the time of Devendravarman, son of Guṇārṇava of Gaṅga Era (G.E.) 192.[2] The change is noticeable from the time of Devendravarman onwards. Thus, the period of Devendravarman's rule forms a landmark in the development of alphabet used in the Kaliṅga grants. The period under discussion, therefore, falls between c. A.D. 350[3] and A.D. 690.[4]

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[1] Diringer, D., *The Alphabet*, London, 1953, p. 300;
Jensen, H., *Sign, Symbol and Script*, London, 1970, p. 399.

[2] *I.H.Q.*, XX, pp. 232-36 ff.

[3] This is the tentative date of Viśākhavarman, the progenitor of Māṭhara rule in Kaliṅga.

Most of the editors of the copper plate grants of this period and authorities on Palaeography classify them broadly either under Southern variety[5] or Box-headed characters.[6] There is some validity in the first remark. But, we see no reason why the scripts used in the inscriptions of the Māṭharas and the early Eastern Gaṅgas should be classified under Box-headed characters.

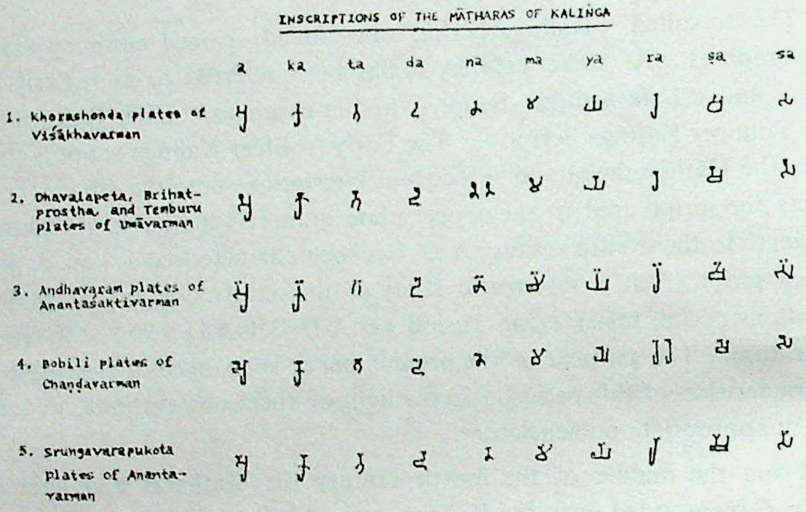
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MĀṬHARAS OF KALIṄGA
a
ka
ta
da
na
ma
ya
ra
ṣa
sa
1. Khorashonda plates of Viśākhavarman
2. Dhavalapeta, Brihatprostha, and Temburu plates of Umāvarman
3. Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman
4. Bobili plates of Chaṇḍavarman
5. Srungavarapukota plates of Anantavarman

Figure I

A. H. Dani[7] has attributed the style of Māṭhara inscriptions to the box-headed script of the Vākāṭakas. He explained three stages by which the box-headed characters infiltrated into this region and subsequently how a new form was evolved out of it. In the first stage, the Māṭharas borrowed the style directly from the Vākāṭakas. Next, Indravarman I, the issuer of Jirjingi plates dated in Gaṅga year 39 (A.D. 537) probably borrowed the script from the

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[4] This is the date of the Trilingi inscription of Devendravarman, son of Guṇārṇava of G.E. 192 (see note 2 above). We believe that the Gaṅga era started in the year A.D. 498

[5] Fleet, J. F., *I.A.*, XVI, p. 131; Hultisch, E., *E.I.*, XII, p. 1; XVII, p. 331; Majumdar, R. C., *ibid.*, XXIII, p. 56; Ghosal, R. K., *ibid.*, XXV, p. 282; XXVI, p. 132; XXVII, p. 34; Venkataramayya, M. *ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 227 and p. 299; Subrahmanyam, R. *ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 176; XXX, p. 38; Sircar, D. C., *ibid.*, XXX, p. 113; Gai, G. S., *ibid.*, XXXVII, p. 337.

[6] Buhler, G., *Indian Palaeography*, p. 107; Sivarammurti, C., *Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts*, pp. 198-99; Srinivasan, P. R. and Subrahmanyam, R., *E.I.*, XXXVII, p. 159.

[7] Dani, A. H., *Indian Palaeography*, Delhi, 1986, p. 177.

Māṭharas. Finally, the script took a new shape under the rulers starting from Hastīvarman of G. E. 79 to Devendravarman of G. E. 183. During this period the solid box-heads transformed into " broad reetangles ".

Theoretically, these stages of development furnish a goad technique to check the influences and counter-influences of the scripts used by different dynasties rulling contemporaneously. But their generalisation conveys many serious inconsistencies. Dani is the first scholar to notice a distinct variety of " broad rectangles " in the inscriptions of the early Eastern Gaṅgas.

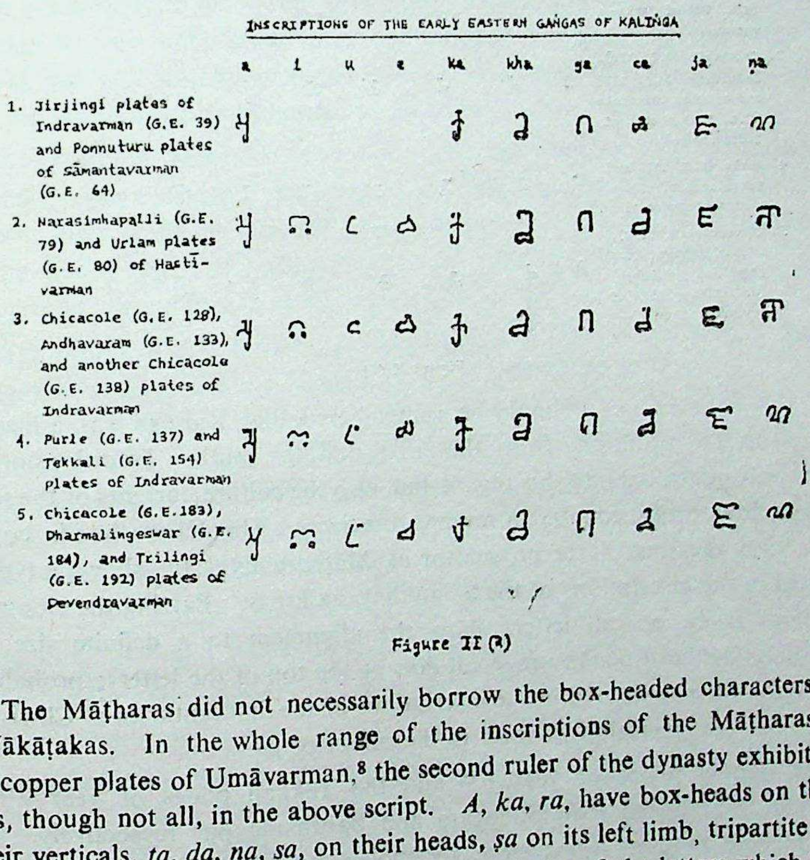
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY EASTERN GAṄGAS OF KALIṄGA
a
i
u
e
ka
kha
ga
ca
ja
ṇa
1. Jirjingi plates of Indravarman (G.E. 39) and Ponnuturu plates of Sāmantavarman (G.E. 64)
2. Narasimhapalli (G.E. 79) and Urlam plates (G.E. 80) of Hastīvarman
3. Chicacole (G.E. 128), Andhavaram (G.E. 133), and another Chicacole (G.E. 138) plates of Indravarman
4. Purle (G.E. 137) and Tekkali (G.E. 154) plates of Indravarman
5. Chicacole (G.E.183), Dharmalingeswar (G.E. 184), and Trilingi (G.E. 192) plates of Devendravarman

Figure II (a)

The Māṭharas did not necessarily borrow the box-headed characters from the Vākāṭakas. In the whole range of the inscriptions of the Māṭharas only three copper plates of Umāvarman,[8] the second ruler of the dynasty exhibit some letters, though not all, in the above script. *A*, *ka*, *ra*, have box-heads on the top of their verticals, *ta*, *da*, *na*, *sa*, on their heads, *ṣa* on its left limb, tripartite *ya* on its middle limb and *ma* on both its limbs. Angularity of the letters which is also an important feature is not seen in the present epigraphs except in the letters *ka* and *ra*. Besides, the scooped out variety of box-heads used in the above letters is not made consistently throughout the plates. Rather, they show a peculiar 'thick-set ductus of writing'. The characters have in all cases a tendency to

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8. (i) *E.I*, XII, pp. 4-6 ff.;
(ii) *J.A.H.R.S.*, X, pp. 143-44 ff; *E.I.*, XXVI, pp. 132-35 ff,
(iii) *Ibid.*, XXXVI, pp. 337-40 ff.

assume a squat and rounded shape. It is, therefore, absurd to characterise it as solid box-headed script.

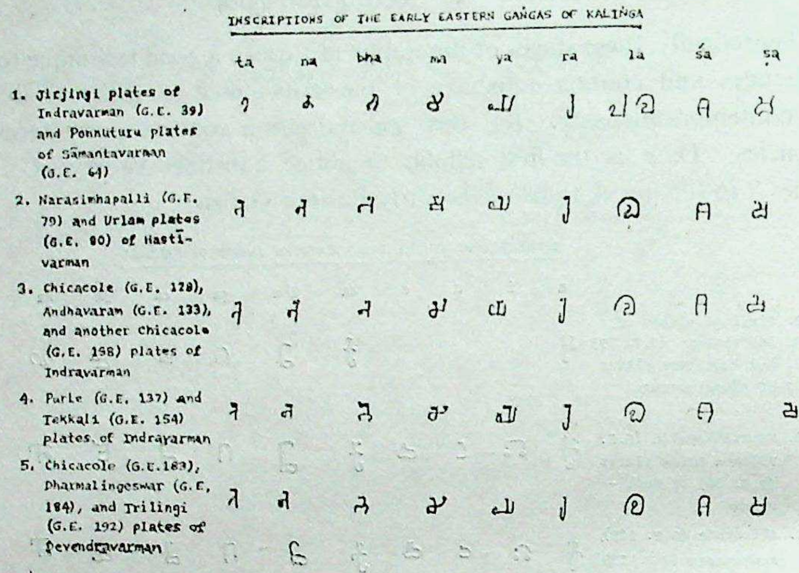
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY EASTERN GANGAS OF KALIṄGA
ta
na
bha
ma
ya
ra
la
śa
ṣa
1. Jirjingi plates of Indravarman (G.E. 39) and Ponnuturu plates of Sāmantavarman (G.E. 64)
2. Narasiṃhapalli (G.E. 79) and Urlam plates (G.E. 80) of Hastivarman
3. Chicacole (G.E. 128), Andhavaram (G.E. 133), and another Chicacole (G.E. 138) plates of Indravarman
4. Purle (G.E. 137) and Tekkali (G.E. 154) plates of Indravarman
5. Chicacole (G.E.183), Dharmalingeswar (G.E. 184), and Trilingi (G.E. 192) plates of Devendravarman

Figure II (b)

In this connection, it should be remembered that Kaliṅga was a meeting ground of diverse traditions from the north and the south. Traditions of the north not only infiltrated into this region, but, also the culture-currents of the south made their flow to this country in reverse direction. The Khorashonda copper plate of Viśākhavarman,[9] the progenitor of Māṭhara dynasty, shows a type of letters used in the inscriptions of the Śālaṅkhāyana kings. Barring the elongated verticality of *a*, *ka*, *ra*, all letters show the alignment to a definite size and proportion. The head-marks are small dots at the top of the letters; probably a development of the serifs used in the inscriptions of the first centuries of Chsristian era. The only exaggeration we meet in the subscript *ya*.

The Barang plates of year 6[10] and the Tekkali plates of year 9[11] of Umāvarman were issued from Sunagara and Bardhamanpur respectively. The scripts of these two sets show close resemblance to that of Viśākhavarman's Khorashonda grant. Here the letters are badly engraved. They are compressed and rounded as in the South Indian script. The style in the next three sets of the same king, as referred to above, is a peculiar " thick-set ductus of writing." This peculiarity may be due to the migration of learned families from the South to this region. We have positive inscriptional evidence to prove that Kesavadeva, the writer of the Tekkali plates of Umāvarman, was a resident of Piṣṭapura, identified with Pithapuram in the East Godāvarī district of modern Andhra Pradesh. Similarly, Haridatta, Mātṛvara and Rudradatta were related to one another and belonged to the same family.[12] Very likely, they too came from the South and held important administrative posts in the court of the Māṭharas. With their learning in the South Indian script initially under Umāvarman, they employed some false box-heads to some of the letters. But, it was never perfected, rather there is an interplay of solid squares and thick dots. The central placing of the squares is another peculiarity of the region. In the subsequent epigraphs we do not notice these peculiarities. Thus in course of time the elements imported to the region got assimilated with the local characteristics and paved the way for the development of an individual character.

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[9] *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 23-25 ff.

[10] *O.H.R.J.*, VI, Part II & III, pp. 106-08 ff.

[11] *E.I.*, XXVIII, pp. 298-302 ff.

Anantaśaktivarman,[13] Śaktivarman,[14] Prabhañjanavarman,[15] Chaṇḍavarman,[16] Anantavarman[17] and Nanda Prabhañjanavarman[18] issued a number of copper plate grants. Invariably in all these plates a peculiar type of serif with a dot or dots is used, It is placed either on both sides of the vertical or to its left. This is not noticeable in the letters like *ja*, *ba*, *la* and *śa*.

The double-dotted head-marks are distinct in the Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman, and the Ningondi plates of Prabhañjanvarman. Later on this peculiarity is replaced by a line head-mark as in the Bobili plates of Chaṇḍavarman and a line head-mark with a notch in the middle as in the Srungavarapukota plates of Anantavarman. This seems to have been a local development of Kaliṅga which later on under the early Eastern Gaṅgas gained wide popularity and became a character by itself.

The early Eastern Gaṅga rulers like Indravarman I of the Jirjingi copper plate of G.E. 39[19] and Sāmantavarman of Ponnuturus grant of G.E. 64[20] used the single-dotted head-marks. It is supposed that they borrowed this stylized form of head of head-mark from the Māṭharas. The letters are so close to the Māṭhara alphabets, it is no wonder if some scholars incline to put the Māṭharas as the contemporaries of the early Eastern Gaṅgas.

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[12] Haridatta was a Deśākṣapaṭala under Umāvarman and his son Mātṛvara accepted this office as well as the office of Daṇḍanāyaka under Anantaśaktivarman. Mātṛvara's son Rudradatta was also a Deśākṣapaṭala under Chaṇḍavarman.

[13] *E.I.*, XXVIII, pp. 175-79 ff. and pp. 226-35 ff.

[14] *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 1-3 ff.

[15] *Ibid.*, XXX, pp. 12-18 ff.

[16] *Ibid*, IV, pp. 142-45 ff.; XXVII, pp. 33-36 ff.

[17] *Ibid.*, XXIII, pp. 5-61 ff.: XXIV, pp. 47-52 ff.

[18] *I.A.*, XIII, pp. 48-50 ff.; *O.H.R.J.*, VI, Part II & III, pp. 109-14 ff.

[19] *E.I.*, XXV, pp. 281-88 ff.

[20] *Ibid.*, XXVII, pp. 216-20 ff.

The latest development of the script occurred only from the time of Hastīvarman of G.E. 79[21] and 80[22] onwards. In the Urlam plates of Hastīvarman of the year 80 we notice both the archaic and advanced type of head-marks. The first two lines and subsequent four letters of the third line of the first plate are written invariably in double-dotted head-marks whereas the rest of the plates display the head-marks either in single lines or broad rectangles with a wave-mark on the surface of the top line. The middle of the rectangle is totally scooped out. This feature has been repeated in all the later charters of the Gaṅgas upto Devendravarman of G.E. 192, though the exceptional and archaic head-marks are still visible in the Chicacole, Andhavaram and another Chicacole plates of Indravarman III of G.E. 128,[23] 133[24] and 138[25] (not 146) respectively.

It cannot be doubted that the broad rectangles are the offshoots of the double-dotted head-marks. In the above grants this trend is clearly visible. Even sometimes the double-dotted head-marks appear optionally in almost all the inscriptions. The letters *i*, *kha*, *ja*, *na* and *la* are devoid of any head-mark. Head-marks are generally attached to the left of the verticals. In case of *qa* and *śa* it is placed on the top, of *ma* it is attached to the left of both the limbs, and in case of the tripartite *ya* only to the middle limb.

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[21] *Ibid.*, XXIII, pp. 62-67 ff.

[22] *Ibid*, XVII, pp. 330-34 ff.

[23] *I.A*,. XIII, pp. 119-22 ff.

[24] *E.I.*, XXX, pp. 37-42 ff.

[25] There is some controversy regarding the date of the Chicacole (*I.A.*, XIII, pp. 122-24 ff.), the Purle (*E.I.*, XIV, pp. 360-63 ff.) and the Tekkali (*Ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 307-11 ff.) plates of king Indravarman, supposed to have been issued in G.E. 146, 149 and 154 respectively. While editing the Tekkali plates, E. Hultzsch has re-examined the date portions of these grants and admitted the existence of the decimal system of notation in reading the date symbols. After re-examination the date of the Purle plates turned out to be (not 100 40 9, but) 100 37=137, that of the Chicacole plates to be (not 100 40 6, but) 100 38=138 and the date of the Tekkali plates to be (not 100 50 4, but) 100 54=154. The first of these figures is expressed by the numerical symbol 100 and the two remaining figures are decimals. Taking into account the difference of opinion on the date of these inscriptions, we have made an enquiry into the

In the process, the style attained its climax in the Purle and Tekkali plates of Indravarman III of G.E. 137 (not 149) and 154 respectively.[26] Both the plates are written by Sarvādhikṛta Sambapuropādhyāya, son of Hastādhyakṣa Dharmacandra and, therefore they exhibit uniform style. In these two inscriptions the letters are boldly and neatly engraved and the head-marks are also very prominent. In the later inscriptions of Guṇārṇava's son Devendravarman, we only notice the degenerated forms of the 'Broad solid rectangles'. The letters are faintly incised.

In the letter-form the South Indian influence is more discernible than the North Indian style. The northern influence is traceable in the letters *ṇa*, *na* and *ta*. *Ṅa* has a double curved top with either a sloping or a straight base. Optionally, a near loop formation is noticed in the left arm which is also found in the contemporary Pallava inscriptions. The looped *na* invariably appears in the early Eastern Gaṅga grants The left arm of *ta* is a curved hook added to the right vertical.

The most distinctive letters are *a*, *ka* and *ra*, all of which have an elongated vertical with an angular upward bend. Letters *ga*, *ja* and *śa* still retain earlier forms. *Ga* and *śa* are of angular type; *ja* with its upper and lower limbs notched. The broad loops of *kha*, *ca*, *ma*, *va* and *ṣa* have notched bases. The tripartite *ya* is either open mouthed or an inner curl or loop at the left arm. The form of *la* is one with its upper curve extended downwards considerably. The base is notched and the whole letter is rounded. *Ba* has a small curl at the left arm and its upper arm is notched. *Pa* has its left arm bent outward and often has a notched base. *Da* is more angular and has its mouth to the right.

The initial vowel *a* has a hook in its left arm. *a* is a horizontal dash with its terminal curved in the lower part of the vertical, *i* is of the roof-type with a notch in the middle, the lower end of the vertical of *e* bends in a broad curve to the right and occasionally displays much angularity, and the left arm of the broad looped *u* is either detached from or attached to the right stem.

The medial ā springs from the serif to the right and then bends downwards. In case of *gā*, *pā*, *śā*, *ṣā*, *yā* and optionally of *vā* it springs upwards and slants to the right, in case of *jā* it rises upwards from the middle limb. The medial *i* is of circle-type and is added to the top of the serif. *I* is only a small inside curl attached to *i*. The circle of *i* is often detached so as to give prominence to the curl. The medial *u* covers its lower end to the left as in *chu*, *du*, *pu*, etc., but in

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original facsimiles published in the journals and reached at the conclusion that the observations of Hultzsch appeared to be plausible.

[26] See note 25 above for details.

qu, *tu*, *su*. it is curved to the right and extends considerably, in case of *ku* and *ru* the stroke is a mere slant on the right. The medial *e* is an upward slanting stroke to left. *Ai* has two similar strokes to left. *O* has a pleasing combination of both the simple *ā* and *e*.

Thus, the characters of the inscriptions of Kaliṅga between c. A.D. 350 and A.D. 690 display no uniform style. Frequent changes in the head-marks, the letter-forms and the medial vowels make it altogether difficult to select a stylistic or dynastic appellation, Moreover, it would be far-fetched to christen the character as 'Early Medieval Kaliṅga Script' on the basis of periodic classification. The reasons are obvious. Firstly, it is generally held that early medieval period in India ranged between A.D. 600 and A.D. 1200. Secondly, it would appear incongruous while we consider the already established nomenclatures such as Early or Elder Kaliṅga script for the characters used in the Hāthīguṁphā and subsequent inscriptions upto the 4th century A. D. and late or Younger Kaliṅga script for the characters used in the records of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga from the 7th to the 12th century A.D. The records under review which entervene the two broad groups of writings in Kaliṅga exhibit a peculiar variety. The inflow of some southern characters to the region in the middle of the fourth century and its assimilation with the local script resulted in the formation of certain stylistic peculiarities in the later centuries. The broad solid rectangles, the addition of notches to the bases and other limbs of the alphabets and the placing of the medial vowels are all local developments. The characters, therefore, form a transitional phase between the early and later characteristics. In view of these observations, it will not be improper. if we coin the style of the inscriptions under discussion as the "Median Kaliṅga Script."

PRESERVATION OF PAPER MATERIAL : INTRODUCTION

By

R. P. SHAH and N. R. SHAH*

Our glorious past is reflected through our cultural heritage. What we possess today of this heritage is only fraction of what our ancestors must have created through long span of history. The ravages of wars, vandalism and neglect have destroyed and ruined much. The responsibility, therefore, lies on all of us who are looking after the preservation of this heritage. The Oriental Institute, Baroda has a valuable and priceless collection of palm leaf and paper manuscripts.

Early man soon realised the social and political advantages of communicating with each other, used various media for writing—clay tablets, stones, wooden pieces, bark, leaves of various types, Parchment, Vellum and metals were used by early man before the invention of paper.

China is the first country who invented the art of paper making in 105 A.D. The Chinese kept the secret of the art of paper making for about five centuries. Then Arabs learnt to make paper in 6th Century A.D. through Chinese prisoners. Japan learnt paper making in 610 A.D. Spain manufactured first paper in 1055 A.D. In India handmade paper was made between 12th to 13th Century A.D. Muslims brought the art of paper making in 15th Century A.D. Before the invention of paper making machine in 18th Century A.D., India was using handmade paper. In India hand-made paper was made from cotton, jute and linen rags. The pulp is mixed up with *Sajikhar* and quick lime. The sizing was done with starch materials.

To understand the problems of conservation of paper, one must know some basic thing about paper. Many of us may know vaguely that it is made from rags or coniferous wood or bamboo. Yet, paper can be quite a complex thing. The ordinary paper used for archival material is made up of a minimum of three materials—cellulose fibres which are the chief constituent, rosin or gelatine which is called the " Size " and an inorganic inert material like Kaolin called the filler.[1] Paper is nothing but a very intimate net work of cellulose fibres rendered non-porous by the size and made heavy by the weight of filler.

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[1] Harinarayan N. "*The Science of Archives-keeping,*" The State Archives, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, p. 21.

Cellulose is a constituent of all plant materials, but cellulose for paper is derived from cotton, flax, esparto grass, straw, bamboo, bagasse, pinewood etc., cotton contains the purest cellulose whereas the other materials contain lignin as well. Moreover the cellulose fibres in cotton and flax are more longer than others. The longer the fibres, the better intertwined they are and the greater their permanence. Cellulose is a chain made up of a number of glucose molecules.

Deterioration of Paper :

We know that paper is an organic material and therefore it is more prone to decay and deterioration. As far as the conservation and preservation is concerned, paper is basically a cellulosic material and prepared from wood, cotton, bamboo, rice, straw fibres. In its manufacture, it is mixed with different amount of materials like sizing materials—glue, gum, rosin, and starch etc., loading materials—clay, chalk, talcum, gypsum etc., and bleaching materials—sodium sulphite, bleaching powder, chlorine gas etc. The presence or absence of these materials has a strong bearing on the resistance of paper towards deteriorating factors. The deteriorating agents which deteriorate the paper are as under :—

(1) Physical Agents : Light, heat, humidity and dust particals.
(2) Chemical agents : acidity and polluted gases.
(3) Biological agents : fungi, insects, micro organisms and rodents.
(4) Incidental agents : careless handling, fire, flood, war and Vandalism.

(1) *Physical Agents :*

(a) *Light :* Light is a form of electromagnetic energy which contains two types of radiations—visible and invisible. The human eye is sensitive between the wavelength of 400 to 700 nanometers. The radiation with wavelength shorter than 400 nm are ultraviolet radiations and those with wavelengths longer than 700 nm are infra—red radiations. These both raditions of light are invisible to the eyes.

Wavelength below 500 nm is sufficient to damage paper. The radiations between the wavelength 300 to 500 nm are photochemically active region which bring photochemical degradation in paper. The violet and blue colour of visible radiations especially responsible for the fading of colour. Fluorescence tubes contains more U.V. rays. From the conservation point of view, the incandescent lamps also known as tungsten lamps are safest source of light as they do not contain much U. V. rays and violet and blue colour. Philips 37 fluorescent tube is said to be low in U. V. rays.

The effect of light depends upon

(i) The intensity of light.
(ii) Duration of exposure.

(iii) Photochemically active wavelengh present in the light and

(iv) Susceptibility of the object to the radiation.

Paper is sensitive to light and therefore one has to maintain the intensity of light below 50 Lux where the paper material is exhibited or stored, as high intensity of light is responsible to break the tissues of cellulosic fibres and may cause fragility in the paper.

The cheap paper gets yellowed because of the none-cellulosic material like lignin which break down into acid compound.

(ii) *Heat :*

Infra-red rays present in the light is producing heat. High temperature beyond 35 to 40°C causes brittleness and dryness in paper. It accelerates the chemical deterioration of paper. The paste and glue loose their binding strength. Thus paper gets disintegrated. The processes like hydrolysis, Oxidation and photolysis are accelerated by heat.

(iii) *Humidity :*

High humidity beyond 70% and temperature 27 to 30°C gives rise to the growth of insects and fungi. High humidity may also weakens the adhesives and sizing materials. It may also cause adhesion of loaded papers. Spreading of inks may also take place in this case.

Low humidity below 30% for a long period may, cause loss of necessary moisture content and becomes brittle. The ideal condition to keep the collection safe from this hazard is to maintain 50% to 60% RH and 17°C to 25°C temperature.[2]

(iv) *Dust :*

Dust poses a very acute problem for conservator not only because it disfigures the paper but it can become a rich soil for the growth of microorganism also. Dust is hygroscopic in nature and if neglected for long period may cause staining on paper which are difficult to remove. It also absorbs acidic substances from the atmosphere. Dust is not mere silica and carbon combined together but it also contains salts like sodium chloride, calcium carbonate, ferric oxide, calciums ulphate, allumina, magnesium carbonate, ammonium sulphate etc., depending upon the region of the atmosphere.

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[2] Agrawal O. P. "*Environment and Preservation of Paper*" Indian Association for the Study of Conservation of Cultural Property, New Delhi, 1977, Vol. X, p. 17.

(2) *Chemical Agents :*

(i) *Acidity and Polluted Gases :*

There are different causes for the development of acidity in paper e.g. acids derived from polluted atmosphere, acid inducing iron or copper particles imbedded in fibres from manufacture, residues of bleaches, impurities such as non-cellulosic content of wood pulp, acid sizing like alum hardened gelatin, and alum-rosin sizing; acid pigments and ink, specially iron gall inks.

Acidity may also develop due to the inherent processes of manufacture of paper. It may also transfer from one paper to another paper. Acidity in paper is one of the principal reasons for its detrioration. Acidity causes loss of strength by hydrolysis of the cellulose molecules, a reaction which can eventually break-up their long chain polymeric structure into unstable fractions.

The burning of coal, petrolium oil, natural gas etc., produces SO_2 in the air. The traces of metallic impuritius in the paper, quite readily combines with further Oxygen to form Sulphur Trioxide which immediately reacts with the moisture of the paper to form Sulphuric acid—one of the powerful acids that can cause disintegration in paper.

$$2\,SO_2 + O_2 \longrightarrow 2\,SO_3$$

$$SO_3 + H_2O \longrightarrow H_2SO_4$$

In the similar way, Nitrogen dioxide of the atmosphere, produces nitric acid, which can bring destruction in paper material.

Ozone is also a very dangerous gas to deteriorate the paper material which can found at highest concentration in polluted cities. Ozone will break bonds on the carbon chain with which it comes into contact and thus degrades the fibres of paper.

(3) *Biological Agents* :

Microorganisms and Insects are formidable enimies of paper manuscripts. Once they get a chance to act, they bring about a complete degradation of the materials.

Microorganisms are broadly divisible into two types—Bacteria and Fungi.

Bacteria : Bacteria can attack paper materials when Relative Humidity is more than 85%. They are Pseudomonas, Bacillius, Micrococcus, Cytophage etc.

Fungi :—About 5-10 species of Fungi are responsible to bring decay in paper manuscripts. They are Aspergillus, Penicillium, Torula, Trichoderma, Chaetomium, Alternaria, Mucor, Myxotrichum etc. Spores of these Fungi can survive for 30-40 years. The spores can be visible on paper manuscripts, by their colour. They are black, blue, green, white, brown or yellow in colour. The proper identification can be done under microscope.

Microorganisms can produce organic acids like Oxalic, Succinic, fumares, citric etc., which reduce pH. of the paper and hence degradation of paper will take place.

Insects : Possibly insects are the most serious source of damage to paper and palm leaf manuscripts. The most common insects attack them are Silver fish, Termites, Book-lice, Cockroaches, Book-work beetles etc.

(1) *Silverfish :* Two species of this insects are found in India. They are Lepisma collaris, L. and Lepisma saccharima, L. of Lepismidae family and order Thysonura. They are silver grey in colour of about 12 mm. in size. They are the common pests of paper.

(2) *Termites (white Ants) :* In India this insect is most dangerous. They are soft bodied insect generally pale in colour. The technical name is Termes obesus, R. of Termitidae family of Isoptera order. They damage paper ' manuscripts; 400 sp. in World and about 15 sp. in India.

(3) *Cockroaches :* Three species are well known, Oriental Cockroach, German Cockroach and American Cockroach. American Cockroach is very common in India. The technical name is Periplaneta americana. It will destroy paper, books and eat away gum and glue.

(4) ***Book Lice*** : They are very small, soft bodied insect. They are known as Liposcelis divinatorius, L. belonging to family Liposcelidae, order Psocoptera. They destroy books, manuscripts, parchment and eat away glue and gum.

(5) ***Bookworm or Book Beetle*** : Gastrallus indicus, R. of Anobidae family attack paper manuscript.

Foxing : Old paper bears characteristic brown spotty type of discolouration. Smoetimes brownish spots are observed which disfigure the paper, This discolouration is called foxing. Foxing in paper is sorrounded by many valuable factors. Such as, the nature of the paper, sizing, loading, ink and contamination with different Fungi. One of the reasons for foxing is that the iron present, as an impurity in paper, gets attacked by the organic acid, liberated from cellulose by the Fungi. Organic iron salts are thus formed and they get unevently disturbed throughout the paper according to the conditions of humidity and porosity. Then they eventually get decomposed and oxidized into ferric oxide and hydroxide of iron which contribute to the formate of brown spots. This is known as foxing.

(4) *Incidental Agents :*

Most of the paper materials are damaged due to careless handling by human beings and due to unscientific storage also. The records should be loosely packed on the shelves to enable free air circulation, periodical inspection will help in eliminating the possibilities of attack by insects and micro-organisms. Regular dusting with vaccume cleaner followed by periodical insecticidal and fungicidal spray should be done in the storage area.

Fire is merely an accidental cause, which can cause total and irreversible destruction but can be avoided by simple precautions. Smoking should strickly be prohibited in storage or exhibition area. Necessary fire fighting equipments of gas-type only, should be at hand. Dry chemical powder type extenguisher is also recommended for fire in organic material. This makes the use of specially treated dry powder chemicals which are not bicarbonate based. It extinguishes fire by adhering to the heated surfaces and coating them.

Flood may also cause a severe damage in paper materials which can be saved to some extent by careful treatment.

Methods of Treatment :

The good house-keeping habit will enhance the life of paper material. Certain preventive measures against the damaging factors will be taken-up in time, the collection may long last. But in case, the deterioration is already set-in, then the chemical treatment became essential for those materials. The treatment may be given on following lines :—

(i) *Removul of Dust and Dirt :*

The accumulation of dust and dirt can be removed with the help of sable hair brush. A mixture of 1 : 1 methyl alchol and distilled water can also be used for this purpose but before using this mixture, the fastness of the ink should be checked with this mixture.

(ii) *Fumigation :*

If insects and micro-organism activities are seen, the material should be fumigated in air tight chamber. If the material is attacked by fungi then the fumigant to be used is thymol. Thymol has been found harmless to paper materials and therefore there is no fear of overdosage. A 40% solution of formaldehyde is also advocated as a fumigant for paper material. In case of insect attack, paradichlorobenzene can be used as fumigants. A mixture of carbon tetra-chloride and ethylene diamine (1 : 3 by volume) can be used as a fumigant This fumigant is to be kept on the top shelf of the fumigation chamber as its fumes flow downwards. This fumigatoin can be done for a period of seven to eight days, Thus the treatment of fumigation is a good precaution againts the possibilities of the documents carring spores and Larvae which can result in mould and insect growth in course of time and spread to other documents. To get rid of biodeterioration, the treatment of fumigation is an essential step.

Following insecticides can be used to control the different kind of insects if found in a storage or exhibition area. A periodical insecticidal spray is essential to prevent the insect attack. Keeping repellents in storage cupboards is also one of the precautionary measures against the insect attack.

Type of Insects	*Insecticide*
Silve Fish[3]	5% D.D.T. *or* 5% B.H.C. *or* 2% Pyrethrum extract.
Cockroaches[4]	do
Termite	Dialdrine *or* 2% Termiseal *or* Creosote.
Book Lice[5]	2% Pyrethrum extract *or* Paradichloro benzene.
Book Worm bettles	Paradichloro benzene *or* Ethyl Bromide.

(iii) *Deacidification :*

As we know that acidity can cause a severe destruction in paper material, it is essential to remove the acidity from the paper. This process is known as deacidification.

Acidity in paper can be detected with the help of blue litmus paper. Due to acidic effect blue litmus turns to red. There are several methods for deacidification.

(a) aqueous method.

(b) non-aqueous method and

(c) vapour phase method.

In aqueous method paper sheet is dipped in the solution of calcium hydroxide and calcium bicarbonate simultaneously and dried in air. The care of ink is taken. In non-aqueous method 18.6 gms of anhydrous barium hydroxide is dissolved in one litre of alcohol and sprayed on the pages. Then the pages are hung-up to dry in air. The barium hydroxide is converted by the carbon dioxide in the air to barium carbonate which is deposited on the paper fibres. Care must be taken, so that ink may not spread.

In vapor phase method deacidification can be done by exposing the acidic documents to vapours of ammonia in an air tight chamber. As this method avoids the necessity for immersion of sheets of the documents in aqueous

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3, 4, 5. Nair, S. M. "*Biodeterioration of Paper*" Indian Association for the Study of Conservation of Cultural Property, New Delhi, Vol. X, 1977.

solutions, it is useful in cases where smudging of ink is feared. But one precaution is necessary. Ammonia is a powerful reagent and might affect the dyes of the ink used. For this reason, a test must be carried out before subjecting the documents to this treatment.

(IV) *Removal of Stains :*

The removal of stains depends upon the nature of stains. The following solvents were found satisfactory in removing the stains listed opposite to them.

Stains	*Solvent*
Adhesive Tapes	Benzene, *or* Carbon tetrachloride.
Glue	Warm wate.
Lacquer	Acetone.
Oil, fat and tar stains	Petrol, Benzene, Pyridine *or* Trichloro ethylene.
Tea and Coffee	Potassium Perborate.
Mildew	Ethyl alcohol.
Rust stain	3% Oxalic acid.
Iron gall ink stain	2% Chloramine—T. *or* 5% Oxalic acid *or* 10% Citric acid.
Fly marks.	1 : 1 Hydrogen Peroxide and Alcohol.

A manipullative skill is essential during the application of the above solvents for removing stains from paper manuscripts because there is possibility of damage to the manuscripts, if operation is not carried out with patience.

Resizing of Paper :

After the application of different treatments such as deacidification or bleaching process, paper looses its strength and becomes limp and weak. Resizing is the way to give the paper its crispness and strength back. The best size for this purpose is gelatine. The solution of gelatine can be prepared by dissolving 31 gms of gelatine in 1 litre of distilled water. The manuscripts to be preserved are immersed in a solution one by one and dried. Then remove the creases and press it to make them flattened.

Repairing and Strengthening :

A minor physical damage may be caused to paper manuscripts due to careless handling, insects attack and unscientific storage. Tears, wrinkling and scattered holes are always seen in paper manuscripts. Very often pages of documents would be found to be torn especially at the edges. Mending of these torned pages can be done by using Japanese tissue paper for support and a starch paste or a poly vinyl acetate as an adhesive.

The paper documents which are damaged severely and became very fragile should be strengthened either by reinforcement with chiffon cloth or by cold lamination process. Now a days cold lamination process is more in use because in this process no equipment is required and the process is also very simple. It also gives a good result.

In this process use of cellulose acetate film is made. The fragile document is placed between a cellulose acetate sheet and Japanese tissue paper of slightly larger size on either side. Then with a cotton swab, moisten with acetone, one gently presses the Sandwich on one side. After adhesion is achieved on that side, the Sandwich is turned over and the process is repeated on the other side. Good reinforcement is achieved by this process.

Conclusion :

Paper is an organic material, composed mainly of cellulose. As we know that, organic, material is more susceptible against the deteriorating agencies. If timely steps are not taken by the authority in order to save the collection from deteriorating agencies, irrepairable loss may occur in collection. Everything is discussed in detail in foregoing pages. Here I would like to draw attention towards some of the important points in short.

1. To prevent the paper documents from biological agencies, relative humidity should be maintained between 50% to 60%.
2. To prevent the paper from photochemical deterioration,
   (i) intensity of light should be kept below 50 Lux.
   (ii) use of U. V. filter should be made.
   (iii) minimise the time of exposure to light.
3. An effective check on the growth of insects and micro-organism can be kept by inspecting the collection periodically.
4. Cleanliness and periodical insecticidal and fungicidal spray will help in controlling biological agencies.
5. Careless handling may result in physical damage. Handle the documents scientifically and with care.
6. Always use hand gloves while handling paper documents as it may cause oily stains.
7. Do not store the paper documents in contact of ordinary paper or boards. Always use non-acidic paper for preparing envelopes or boards for storage purpose.
8. If any sort of deterioration is noticed, and if it requires treatment, only expert should be consulted.

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ŚAKĀRA AS KĀṆELĪ-MĀTAR

By

S. V. SOHONI*

The term, '*Kāṇelī-mātaḥ*' is clearly, one intended to abuse the person who is thus addressed, in the vilest form available, by stating that he was a bastard twice over. For it denotes not only the illegitimate birth of the man so described—it also means that his mother herself was also a daughter of a strumpet. The etymology is stated below.

(a) Monier Williams : (Perhaps connected with *Kāṇerī*) a bastard, (a name of reproach occurring in the vocative case and according to commentary designating one whose mother was an unmarried woman.

(b) Sindhi : *Kayirī* (obviously from *Kāṇerī*) a prostitute;

(c) One explanation is Pā 4-1-116 *Kanyāyāḥ kanīna ca* /

(d) *Kāśikā : kanyāśabdāt apatye'ṇ pratyayo bhavati / Tatsanniyogena kanīna Śabda ādeśo bhavati / Ḍhako'spavādaḥ / Kanyāyāḥ apatyam kānīnaḥ / kānīnaḥ karṇaḥ / kānīno vyāsaḥ. //* If the *apatya* is *strī*, then the form will be *kānīnī* which may, in Prakrit, become *kāṇerī* (i.e. a daughter of an unmarried woman). In Pāṇini, we need not have this *sūtra*; because one gets *kanīna* from *kanī*, an unmarried girl (as opposed to *Janī*, a married woman) by the *pratyaya* '*ina*' to *prakṛti, kanī* (a fact which may be disputed).
See R. 1.66.4 d-i *Jāraḥ kanīnām Patirjanīnām //*

(e) Another (and a more probable one) can be; from 'Kāṇā,' which means *aṅgahīnā* and *Śīlahīnā* / Pā 4-1-131 *Kṣudrābhyo vā //*

Mahābhāṣya : kṣud·ābhya iti ucyate / aniyatapuṁskā anyahīnā vā

(f) Patanjali gives prominence to the extended meaning *aniyatapuṁskā* (having no fixed husband; a woman unchaste in conduct) rather than to the main meaning, *aṅgahīnā* (having deformity of limbs, cf. *akṣṇā kāṇaḥ* and rightly so. *Kāśikā : kṣudrā aṅgahīnā Śīlahīnāśca /... kāṇeraḥ* (*rī*) by contamination with *kāṇeyī*, the alternate form (*rī* for *rā*) for this *aniyatapuṁskā* one may refer to the story of *Satyakāma* Jābāla in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (4.4.4.) '*bahvaham carantī paricāriṇī youvane tvāmalabhe*' /

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This being the correct position any attempt to put this particular term as being on par with, say, Gautamī-putra or Yaśodamātaḥ, is unwarranted comparison—for *Kāṇeli* ' is not being used in the term as a proper noun but as a word meaning a woman, herself of illegitimate birth, and moreover, also a daughter of a woman who too was illegitimate.

How is it that despite this manifold stigma, Saṁsthānaka Śakāra raised no objection against its use by Viṭa? The only explanation is that the relationship between the Viṭa and Śakāra was such that the latter never protested against his being abused in this manner. It is common experience that in certain circles in Indian Society, even such abuses are treated as terms of endearment and no resentment whatsoever is expressed by the concerned party after their use. Such an outlook may be quite depraved. Nevertheless, it does exist. Śūdraka, in his down-to-earth depiction of vile character, utilized his observation of such a detail of ordinary conversation among members of a group of individuals not governed by a rigorous moral code and given to loose thinking and vulgar manners.

This, however, does not mean that while the specific term of abuse meant illegitmate birth twice over, Śakāra must be rated to be ill-born just because his Viṭa meant to tell him precisely that. And consistently with this observation, his father could have been a ruler, and his sister, the wife of the ruling king of Ujjayinī. That is why, when Śakāra whispers these details of his social status in the ear of the judge, the latter says, ' Everybody knows it; and when, at an earlier stage, Śakāra makes a similar reference to his family relationship, the Viṭa himself makes remarks that a thorny tree prospers in good soil.

As noted, abusive terms are brandished about in certain circles as indication of intimacy. This definitely was the position with Śakāra's Viṭa—for the Viṭa calls Śakāra ' *Kāṇelīmātaḥ* ', even in the presence of other persons, without provoking any protest from Śakāra. The implied atmosphere of repetitive loose morals or illegitimacy might have even pleased Śakāra, as it suggested to his perverted mind that his own outlook was but a continuation of what the generations preceding him had held.

At the same time, the possibility that the Viṭa was developing a growing contempt towards the brute cannot be dismissed off-hand; and the frequently uttered term might have been intended to be the outcome of this frame of the Viṭa's mind.

Viṭa meant to stress that the licentious conduct of Śakāra had a background of a family history of ancestral genes. It was more a reflection on the conduct of Śakāra itself, an attempt to explain it than of expressing a word of abuse. That is why Viṭa (who had a role to play in Śakāra's gay life) considered himself entitled to use the term with impunity.

SELECT CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

By

P. H. JOSHI*

Brahmavidyā, the Adyar Library Bulletin, Adyar Library and Research Centre, Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras 600020, India

Vol. 56, 1992

Chr Lindtner : Kālidāsa and Nāgārjuna

Ramaratnam, S. : Elements of Farce in the Plays of Murāri and Jayadeva

Swain, B. K. : Mīmāṁsā View on Piṇḍapitṛyajña

Sarma, K. V. : Scribes in Indian Tradition

Jayashanmukham, N. : The Waking Life and Its Conquest—A Teaching of Advaita Vedānta

Chr Lindtner : On the Date of Dharmakīrtī etc.

Kunjunni Raja, K. : Ānandavardhana and Aesthetics

Kameswari, V. : Unrecognized Virodha in Alaṁkāras

Revathy, S. : Śruti and Arthāpatti in Respect of Avidyā

Krishan, Y. : The Doctrine of Karma and the Law of Causation.

Sankaranarayanan, S. : Janikartuḥ Prakṛtiḥ (Aṣṭādhyāyī 1.4.30) An In-depth Study

Sreekrishna Sarma, E. R. : Meditations on the Agnihotra

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Vol. IX, No. 3, May-Aug., 1992

Kelkar, Ashok R. : Conceptions of Language and of Language Use

Mall, R. A. : Metonymic Reflections on Śaṅkara's Concept of Brahman and Plato's Seventh Epistle

Daya Krishna : Mīmāṁsa before Jaimini—Some Problems in the Interpretation of Śruti in the Indian Tradition

Jagat Pal : The Concept of Bliss

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 40, Nos. 3-4, March-June, 1991 Issue, pp. 313-321

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Vol. XXXIII, Nos. 1-2, 1991

Sil, H. C. : A Study of the Perfect Verb-forms in the Prose Portions of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā of the Black Yajurveda School

Sadhukhan, Sanjitkumar : Pramāṇa Viniścaya—in India and Tibet

Dash, Kailash Chandra : Nila Mādhava and Gāla Mādhava – A Study of a Legendary Tradition on the Early Phase of the Jagannātha Cult

No. 3-4, 1991

Banerjee Manabendu : On Some Copyists of Sanskrit Manuscripts

Sil, H. C. : A Study of the Perfect Verb-forms in the Prose Portions of the Tattirīya Saṁhitā of the Black Yajurveda School

Mondal, Balaram : A Manuscript of the Unpublished Text of Govinda Chakravartin's Samāsavāda.

Vol. XXXIV, No. 1-2, 1992

Chakraborty, Uma : Sanskrit Dramaturgy and Kālidāsa

Chaudhuri, Ajana : The Proto-Śiva Seal from Mohenjo-Daro—A New Interpretation

Hughes, Mary Alice : Epic Women—East and West—A Study with Special Reference to the Mahābhārata and Gaelic Heroic Literature

Chakraborty, Ranabir and Mujumdar, Suchanda Dutta : An Ancient Gymnasium at Bandhogarh

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Vol. XLII, Parts 1-4, Jan.-Dec. 1986

Herman, A. L. : An Economic Model for the Law of Karma.

Shukla, Karunesh : The Natha Yoga in the Indian Tradition

Sohoni, S. V. : Bālamandāravṛkṣaḥ

Joshi, A. R. : The Position of Medhātithi

Tripathi, R. R. : Archaeological Evidences of Sun Worship in the Allahabad District.

Mahavir : Language Theory of Pāṇini

Pathak, Manisha M. : Misaru-Miśra and Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā

Moghe, S. G. : Mīmāṁsā Principles as Envisaged by Śaṅkarācārya in Jayamaṅgalā on Kāmandakīya Nītisāra

Panda, Shishir Kumar : Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa and the Tradition of Historical Writings in Ancient India

Pandey, Rewati Raman : An Advaitic Appraisal of the Concept of Śākṣin

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda

Vol. XL, No. 1-2, Sept-Dec. 1990

Kantawala, S. G. : Some Aspects of Vedic Studies

Joshi, H. M. : Reflections on Jain Metaphysics and Ethics

Sinha, A. K. : Value and Social Structure in Ancient India

Kak, Subhash : Kālidāsa and Agnimitra Problem.

Sharma, Priti : The Abhipyaya-Prakāśikā and Brahman

Wakankar, S. Y. : Indian Society as Reflected in the Bhāṇas and Prahasanas

Thosar, H. S. : Some Unknown Facts about the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Gujarat

Wadekar, M. L. : Saubhāgyalaharī of Śaṅkarasomanātha—A Little-known Laharī-kāvya

Chattopadhyay, Aparna : The Account of Ralph Fitch—A Study

Bandyopadhyaya, Dhirendranath : Literary Duels in Sanskrit

Singh, A. K. : The Vidyādhara Vāpi at Vadodara and Its Inscriptions

Satya Vrat : Samayasundara and His Contribution to Sanskrit Literature

Jani, Balvant : Basic Requirements for Conservation of Documentary Heritage

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Vol. 35, 1984-85 (Humanities)

Joshi, K. R. : Allopaniṣad—Eka Abhyāsa (Marathi)

Aphale, Suniti : Śaṅkarācārya He Pracchannabaudha Hote Kāya? (Marathi)

Patoria : Sāhityaśāstre Guṇatattva Vimarśaḥ (Sanskrit)

Panjab University Research Bulletin, Panjab University, Chandigarh

Vol. XXIII, No. 1, April, 1992

Gupta, Roshan : The Vedic Source of the Story of Mahābhārata

Purāṇa, All India Kashiraj Trust, Fort, Ramnagar, Varanasi

Vol XXXIII, No, 1, January, 1991

[*Vasanta Pañcami Number*]

Krishan, Y. : Promotion of the Cult of Gaṇeśa

Shastri, Ajay Mitra : The Puranic King Pramati – Some Reflections

Patni, Binapati : Gleanings of the Performing Art-Forms in the Purāṇas

Dubey, D. P. : Significance of Ritual Bath at Prayāga

Bhattacharya, Ram Shankar : Vedic Mantras as Described in the Purāṇas

No. 2, July 1991

[*Vyāsa Pūrṇimā Number*]

Lallanji Gopal : Ayodhyā—History, Archaeology, and Tradition

Bhattacharya, Ram Shankar : Ayodhyā, Saryu and Kosala in the Purāṇas

Rai, Ganga Sagar : Kāṇḍa Structure of Ramāyaṇa and Authenticity of Uttarakāṇḍa

Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, January 1992

[*Vasanta Pañcamī Number*]

Kantawala, S. G. : Purāṇas and Indian History and Culture—An Overview

Srivastava, V. C. : Continuity and Change in the Puranic Sun-Worship

Naikar, Chandramouli S. : The Quintessence of Yogābhyāsa in the Brahmapurāṇa

Sahai, Sudha : Śiva in the Skandapurāṇa

Krishan, Y. : Birth of Gaṇeśa—His Parentage

Singh, Tahsildar : Birth Place of Maharṣi Vyāsa—An Identification

Bhattacharya, Ram Shankar : Mankind as Described in the Purāṇas

No. 2, July 1992

[*Vyāsa Pūrṇimā Number*]

Rao, S. R. : Submergence of Dwarka is a Fact

Dhal, U. N. : Dvaipāyano'smi Vyāsānām

Chatterjee Shastri, Asoko: Language and Lexicography of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa

Samāmnāya, Journal of the Maharshi Veda-Vijñāna Academy, Maharshi Academy of Vedic Sciences, Ahmedabad 380015, Gujarat (India)

Vol. 1, No. 1, 1992

Bhise, Usha : Śrī-Devatā in Vedic Mythology

Mishra, P. K. : The Vedic Night and the Night of Śrī Aurobindo

Shukla, C. K. : Poetesses of the Ṛgveda

Vartak, P. V. : Genesis of Universe—Ṛigvedic Concept in Comparison with the Modern Scientific Concept

Vedia, D. G. : Funeral Hymns in the Vedas and their Usage

Mehta, H. M. : Astrological Bases of the Sounds and the Script of Vedic Sanskrit

Unni, N. P. : The Viṣṇusaṁhitā on the Prowess of Viṣṇu

Patyal, Hukam Chand : Yāyāvaras

Dange, S. A. : The Bones of Dadhīci

Deshpande, Indu : Prāyaścitta and Its Psychological Implications

Betai, R. S. : Manu's Concept of Dharma

Kantawala, S. G. : Significance of the Ṛgveda

Kansara, N. M. : Veda and Its Samupabṛmhaṇa in Itihāsa

Bhate, Saroja : Sanskrit and Computer

Thaker, Prajna : Vedomaṁ Yuddha aura Śastrāstra (Hindi)

Bhayani, Harivallabha : Nāmāvaline Kāvyasparśa—Kālidāsanu Kavīkarma (Gujarat)

Pandya, Jagruti : Aparājitā (Gujarati)

Sambodhi, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-380009

Vol. XVII. 1990-91

Joshi, H. M. : Detachment and Liberation in Indian Philosophy and Its Impact on Modern Times—
—The Jyotish Yantra (Astrolabe) at the L. D. Institute

Joshi, M. V. : Aṇubhāṣya of Śrī Vallabhācārya Vis—A—Vis the Vedānta by V. S. Ghate

Parikh, Pravinchandra & Shelat, Bharati : A Forged Agarva Copper Plate Grant of Sahasrājuna (Kartavīrya)

Kansara, N. M.: Emendations Essential to the Vedic Grammar of Bhojadeva

Mankad, Parul K. : Rasanirūpaṇa of Ajitasenācārya

Jha, V. N. : Philosophy of Language—An Indian Perspective

Trivedi, Bhavana : The Concept of Change as Treated in Buddhism Section I—Hinayāna Buddhism

Bhatt, Vasant Kumar M. : Paṇḍitarāja Jagannāthakṛta Prauḍhamanoramā Kucamardinī Tikāno Abhyāsa (Gujarati)

Kulkarni, V. M. : Location of Rasa

Shodha Samaveta, Kaveri Research Institute, 34, Keshvanagar, Gaughat, Ujjain (M.P.) 456010

Vol. 1, Nos. 1-2, Jan-June 1992

Shukla, Kedarnath : Ujjayini evam Vaidika Vāṅmaya (Hindi)

Rajapurohita, Bhagvatilal : Ujjayini ke Purālekha (Hindi)

Trivedi, Ashok : Kumbha Mahāparva ke Bauddha Pratirūpa (Hindi)

Saxena, Rajendra : Simhastha Mahāparva kī Ākāśīya Grahasthiti evam Snāna yoga (Hindi) (Eka Khagoliyacintana)

Nigama, Shyam Sundar & Joshi Umesh : Simhastha Archaeology, Ujjain

Svādhyāya, Oriental Institute. M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda

Vol. 27, Nos. 3-4, V.S. 2046 April 1990-August 1990

[*Akṣayatṛtīyā and Janmaṣṭāmi*]

Mehta, Pritik K. : Āpodevīḥ (Gujarati)

Mehta, N. P. : Kalyāṇavarmākṛta Sārāvalṭinā Candrāriṣ/abaṅgādhyāya māṁ Vaidakīya Vicāra (Gujarati)

Thakar, J. P. : Darśana (Gujarati)

Prajapati, Manibhai I. : Rudrabhaṭṭakṛtā Rasakalikā—Ādāna, Pradāna ane Prabhāva (Gujarati)

Thaker, Prajna : Śalya Cikitsānī Prācinatā (Gujarati)

Parmar, J. D. : Śrīmad Bhagavadgītānuṁ Vedo Pratyenuṁ Valaṇa (Gujarati)

Patel, Prahlad G. : Upadhyāya Yaśovijayajī kṛta Vairāgya Kalpalatā—Rupakātmaka Kathāsāra—Mahākāvya Tarīke (Gujarati)

Betai, Ramesh : Kāvyaviruddhanā Āropo ane Temnuṁ Khaṇḍaaṇa (Gujarati)

Mehta, R. P. : Vīṇāvāsavadattam Kartṛtvano Praśna (Gujarati)

Lele, V. S. : Alaṅkāra Śaṅkara—Eka Paricaya

Patel, Ranajit M. : Eka Upekṣita (Anāmi) Sukaviśrī Rāma Kṛṣṇa Mahetā (Gujarati)

Dave, Subhash M. : Sāhitya ane Vāstava Āṅgaḷiyātanā Paripreksamāṁ (Gujarati)

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Vol. XXVII, 1984

Lokesh Chandra : The Flesh and Blood of Time

Ganguly, Swati : A Study on the Chinese Buddhist Text of the Abhidharmadharmaskandhapādaśāstra

Sharma, Ram Murti : Śaṅkara and I-Sense

Moghe, S. G. : Śaṅkarācārya's Approach to Arthavāda.

Sarma, K. V. : Jyotirmīmāṁsā of Nīlakaṇṭha Somayājī (A.D. 1443-1545) and the Tradition of Revision in Hindu Astronomy

Jha, V. N. : Navya Nyāya Philosophy

Satyanarayana, D. : Religious Suicide or Right of a Man to His Own Life

Rajendran C. : Ānandavardhana's Principles of Evaluation

Thite, G. U. : Subject-Predicate—Order in the Prose of Kālidāsa (with Special Reference to his Abhijñānaśākutala)

Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, Vishveshvaranand Vishva Bandhu Institute of Sanskrit & Indological Studies, Panjab University, Hoshiarpur 146021

Vol. XXV, Parts 1-2, June-Dec. 1987

Chaubey, B. B. : Literary Tendencies of the Early Vedic Period

Dange, S. A. : The Yūpa—Images and Evolution

Khan, Khalid-Bin-Yusuf : India Vṛtra War—A Psychological Interpretation

Sharma, Krishna Murari : Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa's Contribution to Vedic Hymnology

Rath, Prativa Manjari : Rudra in the Śatarudriya with Special Reference to Viṣṇusūri

Nanavati, R. I. : Atharvaveda Āprī-Sūkta

Dange, Sindu S. : Arthavāda—Meaning and Scope

Ehlers, Gerhard : Tales from the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa

Bhise Usha R. : Bāṣkalamantropaniṣad—A Study

Mirasdar, Mangala : Ṣoḍaśakalā Puruṣa—A Study

Jha, Damodar : Kurukṣetra in the Vedic Literature

Mishra, Madhusudan : Anubandhas—A Rethinking

Dash, Narendra Kumar : The Lexicographer Puruṣottamadeva

Sharma, Manjusha : Organizational Stucture of Justice in the Arthaṣāstra

Wakankar, S. Y. : Śrīmad-Vedāntarahasyasaṅgraha—Śatapraśṇottarī of Ayodhyaprasada—A Dictionary of Vedanta in Sanskrit

Sarangi, A. P. : Data Problem of the Sāmrājyalakṣmīpīthikā of Akāśabhairavakalpa

Mahdihassan, S.: The Cross as Medico-religious Symbol Itself Signifying Soul

Vol. XXVI, Parts 1-2, June-Dec. 1988

Ramanathan, A. S.: Pt. Madhusudana Ojha on the Nasadiya Sukta (ṚV X. 129)—An Appraisal

Datta, Indrani: Aspectual Gleaning in Sāyaṇa's Commentary on the Ṛgveda

Hazarika, B. N.: Rudra and Śiva—Their Vedic Concept

Chaubey, B. B.: The Nature and Methods of Brahmaṇic Mystic Interpretation

Verma, Nargis: Etymologies Related to the Flora and Fauna in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa

Maan Singh: Yaska on Vedic Exegesis

Patyal, Hukam Chand: Some Folk-Etymologies in the Nirukta

Chattopadhyay, Sukumar: On Some Onomatopoeic Words in the Nirukta—The Source of the *Bow-wow* Theory

Kulkarni, R. P.: Principles of Work-study Applied to Darśapūrṇamāṣa Sacrifices

Mohanty, Sulok Sundar: Nārāyaṇa's Commentary on the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra

Gupta, Sudhir Kumar: Some Reflections on Vedic Account

Sharma, Champa: Perso-Arabic Words in Dogri—A Comparative Study

Elayath, K. N. Neelakantan: Śankara's System of Karma Saṁnyāsa

Sulochana Devi, L.: A Survey of the Grammatical Mahākāvyas of Kerala

Murti, M. Srimannarayana: Concept of Guṇa According to Bharata

Kamal Anand: Personality and Literary Estimate of Soḍḍhala

Dahiya, B. S.: Aryan Tribes in West Asia

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Vol. 16, No. 1, May 1991

Jagadguru Sri Jayendrasarasvati: The Ramayana—A Guide to Daily Life

Balasubramanian, R.: Sureśvara on the Nature and Means of Liberation

Vol. 17, No. 1, Jan 1992

Balasubramanian, R.: The Primacy of the Word

Srinivas, K.: The Notion of Reality in Advaita

Sastry, Kutumba : On Tātparya Liṅgas

Ranganath, S. : Vācaspatimiśra's Interpretation of the Sūtra 'Tat Tu Samanvāyat'

Revathy, S. : On the Ground Aṁśitva of the Mithyātvānumāna

Ramakrishnan, C. L. : A Hermeneutical Study of the Text 'Brahmavidāpnoti Param'

Ramaswami Shastri, K. S. : Vasiṣṭha

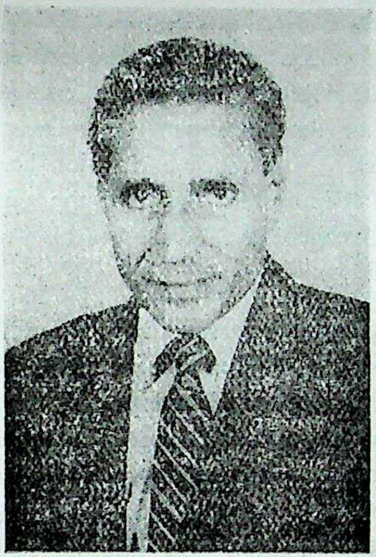
Śrivatsa, Somadeva Sarma : Śakti

Aiyar, N. Subramania : Parāśara

Śastri, Muthukrishna : Vedavyāsa

Iyer, K. Balasubrahmanya : Śuka

OBITUARY



In the sudden demise of Professor **K. T. M. Hegde,** Indian Archaeology lost one of its meritorious scholars who always instilled a scientific temper in Archaeological studies. Born in Tingale village of south Kanara District, Karnataka, in 1930. Professor Hegde started his career at Ajanta as a Chemical Assistant in the preservation of Ajanta Murals, under the Archaeological survey of India. Soon, in 1960 he was selected in the department of Archaeology, M. S. University of Baroda by B. Subbarao. Working meticulously, within short time, he set up a chemistry laboratory and neccessary infrastructure, in the department for chemical and physical analyses and preservation of antiquities. This is the base even today for scientific studies in the department of Archaeology. He went on modernizing the laboratory till his retirement by equiping it with advanced facilities to carry out metallurgical, petrological and chemical analyses of antiquities.

In his single-minded pursuit of scholarship and excellence in the field of archaeology, Professor Hegde was an examplarory teacher and researcher to his students and colleagues. His ability to identify specific research problems was uncanny. In the field of environmental archaeology Professor Hegde's work in western India and Rajasthan, in collaboration with Cambridge team in 1970's was a significant attempt to correlate prehistoric cultures and environmental changes of the region during the Quaternary. He was one among the first scholars in the country to study ancient Indian copper and iron metallurgy in 1960's. Since then, Professor Hegde had made significant contributions to our understanding of the ancient Indian metallurgical science. Perhaps, the most important of these was his excavation in 1983 at Zawar in Udaipur, Rajastan, which brought to light concrete evidence of the "vertical distillation" method used in zinc metallurgy in ancient India. This firmly established an early antiquity to the knowledge of zinc distillation in India, and disproved the popularly held belief that the vertical distillation of zinc started in the 19th century in Europe.

Again, he was the first one to recognize the potential of North Gujarat region in understanding the settlement features of the Harappa culture in Gujarat. His explorations in 1980's in North Gujarat brought to light a large number of Harappan affiliated settlements. A few of these were subsequently excavated. He planned his excavations meticulously and was equally careful in publishing their reports. Professor Hegde's excavations at Nageswar, Ratanpura and Nagwada were helpful in understanding various economic and settlement features of the Harappa culture in Gujarat. Recently published excavation report of Nageswar, a shell working centre of the Harappans near Dwaraka, Jamnagar, shows much light on these aspects. After each excavation he was very particular to organize a small exhibition of important finds for the general public at the Museum in the Department of Archaeology. This was his way of making the public aware of their cultural heritage.

Professor Hegde was honoured with many Scholarships and Fellowships. To mention only important ones among these, in 1965 he was a Smith-Mundth-Fulbright Scholar for advanced study in geochronology at University of Arizona, Tuscon. In 1972 he was an elected Fellow of St. John's College, University of Cambridge and spent a year in teaching and research at the Quaternary Research Laboratory. In 1986, he spent the Spring Term at Harvard University and at the University of Arizona as Senior Fulbright Fellow. He had visited and lectured at various Universities and academic Institutions in India and abroad. Just before his retirement from service in 1990, he was awarded a Visiting Professorship to teach South Asian Archaeology at University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U.S.A. After coming back from Philadelphia in 1991, he kept him self busy writing research papers. He was working on to bring out the excavation report of Nagwada while he passed away on 14th September 1992 after a brief illness. Dedicated, systematic scholarship earned Professor Hegde a happy and contended life.

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P. AJITHPRASAD

REVIEWS

Santa Baheṇābāincā Gāthā va Samīkṣā : by MRS. SHALINI JAVADEKAR, Published by A. A. Kulkarni, Secretary, Prof. Dandekar Literature Publications Committee Through, Continental Publication, Vijayanagar Colony, Pune-30, Pages-595, Price : Rs. 100/-

Mrs. Shalini Javadekar who is not only a well-known writer, social worker but an ardent devout lady narrating and singing beautifully the glories and greatness of the Supreme Reality through her *bhajanas* and *kīrtanas* has critically edited and comprehensively studied the poetic composition (*Gāthā*) of Baheṇābāi (1628-1700 A.D.) from the village Shiur, Maharashtra.

There are three main sections in this volume. Section I deals with the biographical details, personality and domestic life of Baheṇābāi. Section II contains the critically edited text of Baheṇābāi's *Gāthā*. Section III consists of some informative notes, useful charts and tables as well as appendices on various relevant topics.

The book is also decorated with the photographs of some holy places, deities, saints and descendants of the poetess. The first section is again split into seven chapters. The first three sub-sections deal with Baheṇābāi's biographical details like early marriage at the age of three years, marital turmoils, indifferent and trouble some behaviour of her husband and his miraculous transformation due to the divine blessings of her *Guru* Saint Tukārāma who frequently guided and helped her with affinity, the sojourn of the couple to several places and finally their domicile in Shiur, their homeland.

Here we also find fine description of Baheṇābāi's previous births including the last one in which she could attain the final beatitude owing to the Self-realization as confessed by her to her son—*Ātā jāle mukta Ātmabodhe*. She has also advised her son Viṭṭhala about his future births and about the means of *Mokṣa*.

This section closes with the statement of the tradition of Baheṇābāi's Gurus—Spiritual teachers. Then there is a detailed description of the manuscripts consulted by Mrs. Javadekar. Going through all the available texts of the *Gāthā*, she has critically edited the manuscript obtained from Shiur, providing brief, explanatory notes specifying the meaning of some old and archaic Marathi terms.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 40, Nos. 3-4 March-June, 1991 pp. 325-342

In Chapter IV, Mrs. Javadekar has ably discussed the controversial issue viz. whether Bahenābāi belonged to the sect of Saint Rāmadāsa or to that of Vārakarī tradition.

The following chapters contain Baheṇabāi's social, moral, ethical and spiritual precepts as well as literary excellences in her works.

Through the popular and interesting composition like *Fugaḍī*, *Piñgā*, *Zimpā*, she has very aptly expressed her thoughts. According to her the blessed woman is that who has recognised her real spouse i e. The Almighty God—*Āpulā svapati jine oḷakhilā citti, dhanya trījagati tribhuvanī* (p. 96).

It is, however, difficult to agree with the remarks of Mrs. Javadekar who opines that a wife can pursue spiritual progress by humbly serving her husband who is suffering from physical and mental disorders (p. 94). In my view such an abnormal husband proves detrimental to any kind of progress of his spouse.

Like any other Indian Saint, Baheṇābāi was a metaphysician expressing her admiration for the scriptures, spiritual teacher and the Saints. Her views regarding *Karmayoga*, *Bhaktiyoga*, *Jñānayoga*, the *Brahman*, *Māyā* and the scholarly interpretation of the *Vajrasūchī-Upaniṣad* are explained in chapter VI.

Literary merits in Baheṇābāi's *Gāthā* are fully dealt with in chapter VII wherein Mrs. Javadekar has given examples of *Vatsala* and *Bhaktirasa* which are not approved even by Mammaṭa in his *Kāvyaprakāśa* referred to by her. In the *Abhaṅgas* of *Pāramārthika Pativratā* there is *Bhāva* and not *Śṛngārarāsa* stated by her. Next, Mrs. Javadekar has quoted some of the *padas* composed in Hindi by Bāheṇābai. It would have been better if this Hindi poetry would have been proved to be a genuine work of Baheṇābāi by means of linguistic, thematic or stylistic evidences. The section closes with an elucidation of the social conditions like family-life of the people, popular customs and beliefs, jobs, and judiciary as well as different types of arts, flora and fauna found in those days.

Then Mrs. Javadekar has critically evaluated the whole work of Baheṇābāi, quoting at the same time the views and opinions of some prominent oriental and occidental scholars.

Section II contains the manuscript critically edited by Mrs. Javadekar who has also described with illustrations its special features.

Section III consists of some miscellaneous informative appendices pertaining to the film—" Santa Baheṇābāi, Baheṇābāi's horoscope and genealogy, *Subhāṣitas* from her *Gāthā*, *Vajrasūcī-Upaniṣad* etc. Some useful tables, various relevant indexes, bibliography etc. mark the finale of this book.

Baheṇābāi was not only an excellent poetess but also a great saint who tried her best to infuse moral, ethical and spiritual values in the people through her tolerant behaviour, performance of *Kathā* and *Kīrtana* and direct communication with the Supreme Reality. Rightly, therefore, the reputed saints and scholars have commended the multifarious erudition of Baheṇābāi

This book of Mrs. Javadekar, therefore, deserves proper recognition from academic Institutions, and cultural organizations.

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Bhāratīya Śṛṅgāra (in Hindi) : by SMT. KAMALA GIRI, Pub. M/s. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1987, pp. i – vi + 1-327 + 52 Plates, Price : Rs. 29-00.

The work under review seeks to trace the genesis of the various methods of personal beautification and their development in India from the times of the Indus Valley Civilization to seventh century A.D. It is maintained that the instinct of personal beautification is as old as human existence itself. It is effected by the use of articles of cosmetics, such as fragrant powders, flowers, paints, collyrium, salve, perfumed oils, by wearing different types of dresses, head-geare etc., by adopting a variety of manners in coiffure, plaiting of hair and by putting on golden or other ornaments on different parts of the body. In the first chapter, a general outline of the subject is given and in the subsequent four chapters the origin and evolution of the use of costumes, costumes, coiffure and ornaments is delineated from the historical perspective. The variations caused by economical, social, religious and cultural factors are duly treated at every stage. The development of related arts is also alluded to and discussed in their appropriate contexts.

The religious beliefs, social effects and even the claims of medical efficacy of these articles, as gathered from the literary texts and archaeological findings have been thorougly discussed.

Though the subject was earlier dealt with in books and articles of many scholars, the author justifiably claims that she has attempted a consistent and methodical presentation that was a desideratum.

The treatment of the different related topics is authentic and objective and the style lucid but impressive. A glossary is added by way of an appendix, giving English or Latin equivalents of certain technical terms. The exhaustive bibliography, index of words as well as pictorial representations and the plates increase the utility of the work.

The get-up of the work is aesthetically designed. It is a valuable contribution to Hindi literature in the field which was neglected so far. As such the work will certainly be received with warmth in the knowledgeable circles.

R. T. Vyas

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Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization : by Heinrich Zimmer, Ed. by Joseph Campbell, Pub. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1990, pp. i-xiv + 1-248. Price : Not mentioned.

The present book is a reworking of the lecture—course delivered at the Columbia University in 1942 by the author and carefully edited by J. Campbell with the help of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. It represents a fresh interpretation of the key motifs of ancient Indian myths, legends and symbols which are concretisation of significant archetypes the Indian mind threw up during its search for the truth of life and existence. It is intended primarily for the benefit of the Western mind. The subtle psychological nuances of the symbolical language, therefore, have been presented in a terminology that is intelligible to the mind that is disabused of the fake religious sentiment and a grid of beliefs and stereotyped pattern of thought. The interpretation is directly based on the original Sanskrit texts and is supported by seventy plates of Indian visual art. It explicates the images issuing from the yogically tuned minds of Indian Sages and discloses the profound meaning of their intuitions related to the problems of life and existence which, though oriental in origin, show elements that are universal and therefore relevant to the modern humanity.

According to the author the mythical tales are meant to convey the wisdom of the philosophers and to exhibit in a popular, pictorial form the experiences or results of Yoga. Appealing directly to intuition and imagination, they are accessible to all as an interpretation of existence. They are not explicitly commented upon and elucidated. Their details impress themselves on the memory, sink down and shape the deeper stratification of the psyche. When brooded upon, their significant episodes are capable of revealing various shades of meaning according to the life-needs of the individual.

Though conscious of this fact, the author does attempt to offer his comments on the images and episodes that are at once relevant and enlightening as they evince his uncommon insight into the nature of truth of existence as conceived by the ancient Indian Sages and thinkers.

The book is exquisitely produced. It will certainly prove to be a significant contribution to the field of Indian philosophical and mystical thought.

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R, T. VYAS

A Concordance of Vedic Compounds Interpreted by Veda (Vol. 1) by M. D. PANDIT, Foreword by V. N. Jha, Published by Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, University of Poona, Pune, First Edition, August, 1989, Silver Jubilee Year, pp. xvi + 133 + vii. Price : Rs. 60/-.

The Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit (= CASS) " was established as a pioneer national centre for higher learning and research in the field of Veda and Vyākaraṇa initially in 1964 by the UGC " (p. v) and it has since then published several works and the present publication " forms the tenth item in class B of the CASS " (p. v). The book under review is a specimen of the research—" scheme for the concordance of the Vedic compounds interpreted or dissolved by the Veda itself " (p. xiv) proposed by the author.

" Compound-formation or *samāsa* is a phenomenon which forms a distinguishing feature of one of the oldest languages, viz. Sanskrit. The roots of this phenomenon are easily traceable to the Vedic Sanskrit " (p. vii). The problem of Vedic interpretation is a fascinating one and this has given rise to different schools of Vedic interpretation.

In the present monograph Dr. M. D. Pandit has taken up the interesting problem of the interpretation of Vedic Compounds and as the title of the monograph suggests, the Vedic compounds are to be interpreted by the Vedic (*vide.* p. 76 and fn. 75)

The monograph is divided into two parts. In the Part I the author discusses various problems and aspects of " Compound " (*samāsa*) in the following-mentioned sections :—

Section I : Non-compound word-structure.
Section II : Compound word-structures.
Section III : Paṇini's treatment of compounds.
Section IV : Inflexion, Gender and Number of compounds.
Section V : Peculiarities of the Vedic compounds

Section VI : is given a case for a concordance of Vedic compounds interpreted by Veda. There is also a discussion of the compound *aṁhoyu.* The section is rounded off with a note on the scope of the present monograph.

The Part II has the Section VII dealing with a concordance of Vedic Compounds interpreted by Veda.

" Compounds as a part of literature can be studied from both the points of view, formed and semantic " (p. 91) observes the author. The Part I presents the formal aspect as the author views and the semantic aspect as Pāṇini and other grammarians view, (*vide* p. 91). In Part II some thirty compounds are given with their analysis and dissolution given by the Veda. These are the compounds which are " commonly used in the context of different doities " and cover " only the four *Saṁhitās viz.* the Ṛgveda, Vājasaneyī, Sāmaveda and Atharvaveda " (p. xiv).

The principle of interpretation followed in this monograph is an extension of the principle : " an exhaustive examination of all passages " to " the sphere of compound word-structures also." (p. xiv). " A ready-made reference concordance of their dissolutions is sought to be prepared for the convenience of Vedic students." (p. xiv). In his Preface (pp. vii-xiv) the author gives " a brief survey of relevant and comparatively modern works on the topic of compound formation. especially by the prominent Western writers " (p. viii).

The present study " reveals that the non-substitutability of the constituents of a compound may be treated as one of the criteria for deciding the comparative chronology of the Vedic texts. Substitutability indicates the later tendency which ultimately found full expression in Classical Sanskrit " (p. vi).

In his " Foreword " (pp. v-vi) to this monograph Dr. V. N. Jha observes that " compounding is a natural linguistic phenomenon, compounds can be treated as abridgement of phrases," (p. v) and the dissolution of the " abridgement " (*samāsa*) is open to several ways of understanding and now " if the text under analysis is such that there is mention of a compound in some place and there is the mention of its underlying phrase structure at some other place in the same text....such phrase-structure has to be treated as the only intended meaning of the writer." (p. v). And Dr. M. D. Pandit has adopted this principle for the interpretation of the Vedic compounds and one would like to say that Dr. V. N. Jha rightly observes that " he (*i.e.* Dr. M. D. Pandit, bracket ours) is more than justified in basing his approach on this principle " (p. v).

Pages 129-133 cover the useful index and bibliography and thereafter pages i-vii are devoted to a list of publications of the CASS and of the University of Poona.

The author, the Director, CASS and the CASS deserve hearty congratulations for publishing this monograph. It is hoped and wished that it will find a place in the libraries of the colleges, universities and indological research institutions.

Let us wish with Dr. V. N. Jha that Dr. M. D. Pandit completes this project with the publication of his investigations as early as possible.

Sri Rama
Opp. Kantareswara Mahadev
Bajwada, Vadodara

S. G. KANTAWALA

Moral Dilemmas in the Mahābhārata : Ed. by B. K. MATILAL, Pub. by Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla in association with Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1989 pp. xiv + 157, Price : Rs. 95-00.

The book under review is a good compilation of articles on the *Mahābhārata* characterised by the freshness of the approach to the great 'Epic'.

The first paper entitled, Moral Dilemmas : Insights from Indian Epics by B. K. Matilal himself discusses at length the nature of moral dilemmas in general referring to the views of modern philosophers and critics like Kant, Sartre, Hare etc. He also discusses certain epic episodes involving moral dilemmas.

The paper by T. S. Rukmani, entitled 'Moral Dilemmas in the Mahābhārata' discusses at length the term *Ṛta* and *Dharma* and it is shown how they got intermingled in later times. Then different characters of the epic like Yudhiṣṭhira, Arjuna, Karṇa-Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Vidūra, Bhīṣma etc. are discussed along with the women characters like Gāndhārī and Draupadī.

The paper by S. P. Dubey entitled 'The concept of Moral Dilemma : Its Applicability in the Context of the Mahābhārata' discusses at length the concept of moral dilemmas, and then the dilemma faced by Bhīṣma at the question of Draupadī is discussed. Bhīṣma is unable to answer the question of Draupadī and confesses that the *Dharma* being very subtle it is difficult for him to give a reply to the question. The author points out three characters viz, Kṛṣṇa, Karṇa and Duryodhana who did not experience moral dilemmas and discusses them fully.

In a short but interesting paper entitled 'A Note on Moral Dilemmas in the Mahābhārata' K. Kunjunni Raja discusses the inner nature of the moral dilemmas of the epic. He then discusses the dilemma of Arjuna on the battle field. The example of Dhṛtarāṣṭra is also taken up for discussion who understands the dilemma, but instead of choosing the right path yields to the suggestion of Duryodhana.

In the paper entitled—The Meaning of the Puruṣārthas in the Mahâbhārata, Y. Krishan treats the four *Puruṣārthas*. *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mokṣa*. He points out that there are conflicts among the first three *Puruṣārthas* and shows that the Śāstras try to suggest ways and means to resolve such conflicts. According to him the unresolvable moral dilemmas are different from such conflicts among the three *Puruṣārthas*.

A. N. Jani in his paper—The Socio—Moral Implications of Draupadī's Marriage to five Husbands discusses the social acceptability of polyandry as involved in case of Draupadī. Jani suggests that the Pāṇḍavas came from the Himalayan region, where among some tribes polyandry was prevalent. He also explains the prevalence of polyandry on social and economic grounds.

Amiya Dev's paper—La Guerre De Kurukṣetra N'AURA PAS LIEU : UDYOGA RECONSIDERED, concentrates on the Udyoga Parvan; and compares the main efforts of War and peace with some Greek parallels, from Homer. He takes up the incidents of the meeting of Duryodhan and Arjuna with Kṛṣṇa just awakened from sleep before the *Mahābhārata* War, the meeting of Kuntī and Karṇa, Kuntī and Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa's peace mission in the Kaurava's Court, along with the two *Viśvarūpadarśana* incidents one at the Court of Kauravas and the other given to Arjuna on the battlefield.

S. G. Kantawala's paper—Marriage and Family in the Mahābhārata : Some Aspects, discusses *niyoga*, a social issue having moral implications, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu were born through the *Niyoga* of Vyāsa with two widow queens of Vicitravīrya. The five Pāṇḍavas were born by following a similar method. The author here discusses the acceptability of such a custom, and terms it as 'obnoxious.' We can see the opposition to it in *Mahābhārata* itself and also in later Dharmaśāstras which go to prove that it was not a usually acceptable social custom.

Peter Della Santina's paper—Conceptions of Dharma in the Śramaṇical and Brāhmaṇical Traditions : Buddhism and the Mahābhārata, gives a discussion on the concept of *Dharma* as understood by Śramaṇas and Bauddhas. He takes up the first two *Adhyāyas* of *Gītā* and interprets the conflict in them in contrast with Brāhmaṇism.

S. Paul Kashap's paper—Reflections on the Concept of Action in the Gītā, discusses some verses of the fourth *Adhyāya* of *Gītā* concentrating on *karma*, *akarma* and *vikarma*. He explains *niskāmakarma*. He also refers to the notion of 'second order desire' i.e. desire to have certain desires as discussed by the *Gītā*.

M. M. Agrawal's paper—Arjuna's Moral Predicament, discusses Arjuna's moral problem with a philosopher's point of view. He refers to the modern philosopher while discussing the said problem of Arjuna involving the moral dilenma; to fight or not to fight. He fully discusses the answer of Kṛṣṇa and analyses it. His analysis is noteworthy.

E. R. Sree-krishna Sarma's paper—Arjunaviṣādayoga, disscusses the problem from a point of view of *Rasa*. He says that the chief *Rasa* of the *Mahābhārata* is *Śānta Rasa*, though the epic is a story of heroism'. It is the story of a great tragedy where nobody achieves any glory, neither the Pāṇḍavas nor the Kauravas.

S. M. Kulkarni's paper–An-Unresolved Dilemma in Dyūta-parvan: A Question Raised by Draupadī deals with the dilemma raised by Draupadi's question in the Court of Kauravas whether she was won at the gambling. He discusses the issue in full details and at the end leaves the discussion on it raising the three points (1) the nature of the authority of husband over wife (2) the validity of any act or transaction of an addict (3) the validity of any act frandulently and deceitfully performed by cunning persons.

Thus the book is a compilation of studies done with fresh angle of approach. All these papers are thought-provoking and lead us to think about the epic dilemmas having relevance to our modern life and times also. The publishers deserve congratulations for bringing out such a nice work.

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Prācīna Ardhamāgadhī kī Khoja meṃ (in Hindī) : by Dr. K. R. Chandra : Prākrit Jaina Vidyā Vikāsa Fund, Ahmedabad-380015, 1991; Pages 20 + 112 + 1 Photo-plate, size 21 × 13.7 cms., Price : Rs. 32-00.

At the outset we meet with a nine-page life-sketch of the generous donor Śreṣṭhīśrī Kastūrabhāī Lālabhāī (1894-1980) penned by his renowned biographer Dhīrubhāī Thākor.

A comparative Study of the languages of the Śvetāmbara Jaina Canonical texts, the Pāli Piṭakas and Aśokan inscriptions in order to ascertain the real traits of the original language of the Jaina Canons has been a long-felt desideratum. The present book is a sincere effort in that direction.

The language of the Śvetāmbara Jaina Canons, some parts whereof are believed to belong to about 300 B.C., is named as *Ardhamāgadhī*. All the same we do not get any clear idea about the linguistic characteristics of this ancient language even in the Prākrit of Grammar Ācārya Hemacandra. Moreover, we meet with Mahārāṣṭrī Prākrit forms quite in abundance in the editions of the Canons available today, in comparision whereof the language of the fifth century work the *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī* appears to reveal an earlier stratum ! Such a situation leads us to infer that the original language of the Canons has suffered a lot at the hands of the scribes as well as scholars during the several centuries of transmission ! Therefore, it is absolutely essential to prepare a complete index of *all* the readings that we get from all available manuscripts and to ascertain with its help the real character of the original Ardhamāgadhī language by separating modernised portions from the older ones.

Again, the vast difference between the languages of the preachings of Lord Mahāvīra and Lord Buddha, who belonged to the same times and the same territory viz. Bihāra presents a very confusive problem. Dr. Chandra has made a conscientions effort to solve this problem by making a comparative study, *for the first time*, of the languages of the earliest Jaina Canon the *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, the Pāli Piṭakas and Aśoka's stone-edicts. The book under review is a collection of his Papers prepared during this study. He found that the Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya edition of the *Ācārāṅgasūtra* presents ample varient readings from manuscripts as well as the Cūrṇī; while Schubring's edition has followed, as it were, the phonetic principles of Mahārāṣṭrī Prākrit all throughout, mentioning very few variant readings. At the same time he also noted with pleasant astonishment that the *Iṣibhāsiāiṃ* (*Ṛṣi-bhāṣitāni*), as edited by Schubring himself, has preserved ample archaic forms ! And this became the starting point of Dr. Chandra's researches in this field.

In his Foreword entitled " A Peculiar Endeavour " Pt. Dalasukhabhāī Mālavaniā, the veteran scholar of Prākrit and Pāli languages and literatures, rightly points out that the book under review, which is the outcome of perseverant studies of several years, offers a new direction to the century-old process of textual researches of the Jaina Canons. For these Studies Dr. Chandra prepared as many as 75,000 Cards. He is indeed a *pioneer* in studying all the four prominent editions of the oldest Canonical text viz. the *Ācārāṅgasūtra* and comparing the same with the contemporary Pāli Piṭakas as well as Aśokan stone-edicts and thereby making a laudable attempt to search out the linguistic characteristics of the original Ardhamāgadhī.

The book is divided into eight Adhyāyas. The first one presents typical case-studies from such ancient texts as the *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, the *Sūtra-Kṛtāṅgasūtra*, the *Uttarādhyayanasūtra* and the *Isi-bhāsiyāiṃ* conducive to the conclusion that the Ardhamāgadhī language has been turned into *Mahārāṣṭrī*, so to say, and further that the archaic readings fortunately preserved in the manuscripts as well as the Cūrṇīs must invariably be incorporated in the new edition.

The grammatical case-studies put forth in the second chapter go to prove beyond doubt that Ardhamāgadhī is quite older than Mahārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī Prākrits as also that the former does exhibit certain similarities with Pāli.

A comparative study of certain forms selected from various Jaina Canonical texts, the Pāli *Sutta-nipāta* and Aśokan edicts presented in the next chapter leads to the contention that the older Ardhamāgadhī Canons may probably go back to the pre-Aśokan period and that they were originally composed in Eastern India.

The fourth chapter contains a typical study of Ācārya Hemacandra's Prākrit Grammar, displaying that the great Grammarian, who treats such Prākrit languages, as Māgadhī, Paiśācī, Cūlikā paiśācī, Śaurasenī and Apabhraṃśa respectively in 16, 22, 4, 27 and 118 Sūtras, quite wonderfully does not give any grammar of Ardhamāgadhī the language of the Canons of his own religion ! Of course, he has just referred to certain traits of this language as "*ārṣa*" here and there in his Vṛtti to the Sūtras. On the other hand the earliest rhetorician Bharata offers to Ardhamāgadhī the status of an independent language in his great treatise the *Nāṭya-śāstra* !

In the next chapter are enumerated as many as 37 linguistic characteristics of this language, the knowledge whereof would prove very useful in editing the Canons afresh. It can safely be concluded from this discussion that original Ardhamāgadhī, having similarities with Pāli and the language of Aśoka's eastern inscriptions, is quite near to Sanskrit.

It will be interesting, by the by, especially for students of Gujarātī language, to note that the list of words containing the syllable '*ḷ*' prepared by Pischel and quoted here by Dr. Chandra, includes the terms '*taḷāva*' (a pond) and '*veḷu*' (sand) prevalent in modern Gujarātī.

One whole chapter is devoted to interesting details regarding the Prākrit forms of the Sanskrit term '*Kṣetrajña*'. In all nine Prākrit forms found in different editions are dealt with very briefly but distinctly. The author carefully points out that only one out of these nine forms viz. *Kheaṇṇa* occurs in the famous Prākrit Dictionary *Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo* (*Prākṛtā-śabda-mahārṇavaḥ*) where its Sanskrit original is given as *Khedajña* ! This discrepancy of this Dictionary becomes all the more significant when we come to know that the original Sanskrit word is '*Kṣetrajña*' and not '*Khedajña*' ! The author further notes that commentator Śītāṅkācārya gives the meaning of this '*Khedajña*' as 'one who cuts off the miseries of the creatures' ! This sense would naturally lead us to the word '*Khedaghna*' and not '*Khedajña*' !

We meet here with a nice treatment of the following derivatives of '*Kṣetrajña*' from historical point of view :

Khettañña, Khettanna, Khetanna, Khedanna and *Kheyaṇṇa.*

It becomes quite clear from all these details that the original Ardhamāgadhī form was none else than '*Khettanna*', which must be adopted in the new edition of the Āgamas.

The seventh chapter offers an analytical treatment to the following sentence from the *Upodghāta* or Preface of the *Ācārāṅgasūtra* :

" *Suyaṃ me āusaṃ* ! *teṇaṃ* (u.p. *teṇa*) *bhagavayā evam akkhāyaṃ* . . . . ! " and it is rightly concluded that the original form of the sentence must undoubtedly be :

" *Sutaṃ me āusanteṇa bhagavatā evam akkhātaṃ* ! "

The brief discussion given in the last chapter regarding the linguistic heterogeneity of readings conduces us to the firm conclusion that the different editors did not take into account such criteria as the historical development, the time and place of the original composition and the real form of the speech of the preacher, while selecting the different readings in their respective editions, which they have done according to their own contentions regarding the linguistic principles to be followed as also under the influence of the rules laid down by the Prākrit Grammarians that are not at all historical from the point of view of chronology nor do they clarify the linguistic characteristics of the Ardhamāgadhī language ! Consequently we find a hotch-potch of languages even in the *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, the oldest Canonical text ! The archaic forms fortunately preserved here and there clearly show that original Ardhamāgadhī was nearer to Māgadhī and Pāli and not at all to Mahārāṣṭrī, while the available editions of the Canon possess Mahārāṣṭrī usages quite in abundance !

The 3½ page Subject-Index placed at the close of the book will also prove useful inasmuch as it gives at a glance a clear idea about the subject-matter in proper sequence.

As such this book, though small in size, is very important. Its language is simple and unassuming having a direct diction. All the discussions are quite to the point. Daringly pointing out lack of scruples on the part of modern scholars of repute like Schubring and others, Dr. Chandra comes out as an ideal researcher, worthy of encouragement. His studies as presented in this book put forth a convincing plea for restoring the original character of the Ardhamāgadhī language as far as possible on the basis of all available textual data and editing afresh the Śvetāmbara Jaina Canons in the light of the same. This is just the first step in that direction.

Dr. Chandra deserves thanks and congratulations for his pioneering work. We hope that his researches in this direction will continue unabated.

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J. P. THAKER

Pulastyasmṛtisaṅgraha, Ed. by PROF. SMT. KRISHNA KANTI GOPAL and PROF. LALLANJI GOPAL, Rishi Publications, 76, Chandrika Colony, Varanasi-221010, 1992, pp. Preface i-iii + 1-152, Price Rs. 195/-.

The *Smṛtis* occupy a very important place in the ancient Sanskrit Literature. Numerous *Smṛtis* have been published in different *Smṛtis*-collections. A great number of *Smṛtis* is not available in its complete and genuine form. Some are only partly or fragmentarily available, while some have gone into oblivion. However, some *Smṛtis* are still preserved in the form of profuse and multifarious quotations in the digests and commentaries on the *Dharmaśāstra* literature. The Reconstruction of such *Smṛtis*, on the basis of quotations has been a long-felt desideratum. Pioneering and ideal work in this field was done by Mm. P. V. Kane and Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. Dr. S. C. Banerjee tried to reconstruct the lost *Dharmasūtras*, while Dr. N. C. Bandyopadhyay also reconstructed the *Kātyāyanasmṛti*. Other scholars like Prof. Dr. S. G. Moghe, Prof. T. R. Chintamani etc. have also been working in this field.

In Baroda, under the suggestion and guidance of the late Shri J. S. Padeshastri (Ex-Research officer, Oriental Institute) and Mm. Prof. Dr. A. N. Jani (Ex-Head, Deptt. of Sanskrit, Faculty of Arts, M. S. Uni., Baroda and Ex-Director, Oriental Instiute), Dr. A. D. Thaker (Lecturer, Sheth P. T. Arts and Science College, Godhra) reconstructed the *Śaṅkhalikhitasmṛti*, covering the different topics, while the Present Reviewer himself (Dr. M. L. Wadekar) reconstructed the Lost text of the *Devalasmṛti* for which research works both obtained the Ph.D. Degree of the M. S. Uni. of Baroda. Shri P. H. Joshi (Research Officer, Oriental Institute) also tried to reconstruct the *Kātyāyanasmṛti*, on all the topics. He also collected quotations of the *Pāraskarasmṛti* and published an article, regarding it in the Gujarati Journal, *Svādhyāya* of the Oriental Institute. The present reviewer had also collected quotations of Pulastya and Jātūkarṇya, during his research work on Devala.

The present Reviewer's attempt to reconstruct the Lost *Pulastyasmṛti* could not see the light of the day. It is a matter of great delight that the joint endeavour of the scholarly couple (i.e. Prof. Smt. Krishna Kanti Gopal and Prof. Lallanji Gopal) of reconstructing and publishing the Lost *Pulastyasmṛti* has been successful and been presented to the world of scholars in a book-form (though after about thirty years), not withstanding the several difficulties and problems in their way.

The main topic of the present monograph is the reconstruction of the Lost *Pulastyasmṛti* and the study of all the problems, relating to the sage Pulastya and his *Smṛti*. The subject is spread over 152 pages of the monograph, which is divided into eight chapters. The chapters one to four, covering 95 pages of the book, contain the topics, namely, (1) Introduction, (2) The *Pulastyasmṛti*, the Reconstructed Text, (3) The Date of the *Pulastyasmṛti* and its Importance and lastly, (4) The *Pulastyaupasmṛti* are dealt with. In the Introduction, Pulastya's place in History and Tradition has been delineated, wherein it is clear that Pulastya is a great historical and mythological personage. But, here the editors may be conscious of the fact that the identity or otherwise of the mythological sage Pulastya, with Pulastya, the *Smṛti-Kāra* is difficult to be proved. In the second chapter, sources, nature, contents, problems etc. regarding the Reconstructed Text have been treated. The problem of the date of the Reconstructed Text has been well-discussed by advancing several extērnal and internal evidences and the distinctive and remarkable features of the text have been pointed out in part b of the chapter 3. In the fourth chapter, the contents, date, importance etc. of the printed *Pulastyasmṛti* (though not noticed by Mm. P. V. Kane, but already published in two *smṛti*-collections, reproduced here from the printed editions), designated as the *Pulastya-upasmṛti* by the editors, are elucidated. The entire discussion in this portion of chapters one to four is logical, precise and systematic, which reflects upon the profound erudition and critical acumen of the editors. References to the original and secondary works have been given separately at the end of each chapter. (page to page footnotes here and in the later portion of chapters 5 to 7 also would have facilitated the readers). It is highly regrettable that there are numerous errors of omission of diacritical marks on some letters of words (too many to be enumerated here) in this portion. The reference to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (ch. 84-92) on page 37 is a glaring mistake, as the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* does not contain any such topics, referred to by the editors. Their reference to the same on page 75 as the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (XCVIII. 71-104) is also a wrong one, while on page 4, the reference to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* as (I. 10) is incomplete one, it should have been (I. 10.9). The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* has divisions of *Aṁśa* and *adhyāyas* and not merely of *adhyāyas*. The editors should have verified the validity of their statements and references.

Digests and commentaries on *Dharmaśāstra* contain numerous quotations of Pulastya. The editors have collected (about 140 such verses), arranged them in different topics and presented in the form of the Reconstructed Text in chapter five of the present monograph. The sources and (only a few variants) have been noted separately at certain intervals, on separate pages. The Text of the printed *Pulastyasmṛti*, containing twentynine verses, is also presented in the chapter six, under the title —, " The Text of *Pulastyaupasmṛti* ". In the seventh chapter, six appendices, containing the verses on certain *dānas*, *vrata*s and the *tīrthayātrā* found in the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇa*s (quoted by Hemādri etc.), in which Pulastya is the interlocutor are also reproduced as they represent the view of Pulastya on these *Dharmaśāstra*—topics. At the end in "chapter eight", the bibliography of some 44 works, consulted for the present monograph, is given.

The attempt of reconstruction of a lost text is no doubt an arduous, laborious and time-consuming task, for which the editors deserve admiration. However, this scholarly endeavour has been marred by most improper editing and erroneous proof-reading of the Sanskrit text. The errors both of omission (of letters) and commission (wrong printing of letter) are too many to be enlisted here. The text is not properly edited at numerous places. The unwarranted emendation of *dvijottama* or *dvijotamāḥ* as *dvijottamaḥ* (p. 102) (arbitarily done, without authenticated by textual evidence) is most unscientific, in such a case, they should have shown their suggested reading in the brackets, retaining the original as *Dvijottama* (maḥ) (But *Dvijottamaḥ* is a variant found in the *Smṛtimuktāphala* (ācāra. p. 353), unnoticed by the editors). The verse *sandhyāmiṣṭim* etc. (p. 100, becomes hypermetric, due to wrong addition of *ca*, which could have been dropped, had they noted all the variants from different sources. The line *amāvāyāṁ tu* (p. 99) is also hypermetric, it should have been *amāyāṁ tu* on the authority of digests like the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, the *Smṛticandrikā* etc. In the printing of nasals, no uniformity is seen as गंगा or गङ्गा, मंत्र or मन्त्र both kinds of spellings are found in the printed text.

The editors might have tried their best to make their attempt as exhaustive and systematic as possible. However. in the arrangement of topics in the Reconstructed Text, the topic of the *Devapūjā* has been presented after that of *Bhojana*, which is logically wrong. It should have followed the topic of *Sandhyā* and preceded *Bhojana*. The *tarpaṇa* also should be included in the *Āhnika* section and not in the *Śrāddha*. The reviewer has also collected quotations of Pulastya. There are more than ten such quotations, which are not found in the present monograph of the editors. Moreover, the complete & correct form of the verse no. 3cd/4 in section II.3 (p. 100) should have been written as given below, on the authority of the *Ācāramayūkha* (p. 38):

अष्टाक्षरेण मन्त्रेण यः करोति त्रिपुण्ड्रकम् ।
विष्णोः पदमवाप्नोति नान्यथा श्रुतिचोदितम् ।
सौरं पदमवाप्नोति गायत्र्या मुनिसत्तम ।
प्राप्नोति ब्रह्मणो रूपं प्रणवेन न संशयः ॥ आ. म. p. 38

One long prose extract, (unnoticed by the editors) on *Prāyaścitta*, ascribed to Pulastya is quoted by the *Parāśaramādhava* (*Prāya*, p. 81), but the reference *Gaṅgāyām daśasāhasrī* (p. 100) may not necessarily be taken as a *sūtra*, it may be a quarterline of a Lost Verse. Their suggestion in brackets as *Rājā(jñā)nutpāditam* (p. 113) is unnecessary as we do get such a correct reading directly from the digest. Similarly, their suggestion *Para(ma)haṁsa* (p. 114) for *Parahaṁsa* is also not proper, as the text becomes hypermetric in that case. Moreover, the following corrections are necessary to be made in the text on the evidence of digests on *Dharmaśāstra*.

	worng	corrected form	
p. 102	अशेषानि	अशेषाणि	
p. 103	निराकर्मणि	सीरकर्मणि	
p. 103	कर्मण्यासु	कर्मण्याशु	
p. 104	षडशीत्या	षडशीत्यां	
p. 107	ब्राह्मणैः रहिते	ब्राह्मणै रहिते	etc. etc.

In the text of the Printed *Pulastyasmṛti* the editors have added certain lines in brackets, on the basis of similar statements in the *Purāṇa* text, but it would have been better, had the text been restored in this manner on the basis of some MSS. of the *Pulastyasmṛti.* The statement made by the editors on p. 87 that " *None* of the verses quoted from the original *Pulastyasmṛti* in the later commentaries and digests occurs in the Printed Text. " The last verse no. 29 is found quoted in some digests and commentaries and it is curious that this verse is repeated by the editors in the book. The Appendices are also not free from such editorial and printing mistakes.

Thus though the authors have shown their scholarship in the English portion and have collected with greatest patience and zeal the quotations of Pulastya, it is quite disheartening that their attempt has been greatly hampered by improper editing and numerous printing errors in the later part of the monograph. They should take more care, while editing any other text of this kind in future.

However, both the scholars and publisher deserve our hearty congratulations for bringing to light the hitherto unknown contribution of the sage Pulastya.

Viṣṇupurāṇa Project,
Oriental Institute,
Baroda.

M. L. WADEKAR

Dictionary of Bhagavad Gītā : by R. J. VENKATESWARAN, Pub. : Sterling Publishers Private Limited, L-10, Green Park Extension, New Delhi-110016, 1991, Pages 206, Price Rs. 250/-

The *Bhagavadgītā* occupies a place of prominent importance in the philosophical literature of India. It is the only philosophical book in the world which has been dragging the attention of scholars (Indian as well as foreign) from all walks of life.

The *Bhagavadgītā* is a perennial source of inspiration to all thinking minds and enjoys the privilege of having the highest number of commentaries on it, thus, indicating its popularity and flexible nature as far as interpretations are concerned.

The book under review is an Index of words used in the *Bhagavadgītā*. The publication of this book is very useful to all scholars, researchers, students and the common man as well. The author has presented the entire material in four columns such as English transliteration of Sanskrit words, original Sanskrit words, *śloka* number of the text and special meaning of the words.

The important feature of the work is that the author has given historical and descriptive background of the words like कुरुक्षेत्र on page no. 51 ff, कृष्ण on page no. 57 ff, जाह्नवी on page no. 75 ff, भीष्म on page no. 128 and रामः on page no. 153 etc.

As the author writes in the preface to his previous book, "*Bhagavad Gītā for Peace of Mind*" (1981), "outstanding scholars and philosophers have written about the *Gītā*, but there was a definite need for another book which would explain the message of the *Gītā* in an easy language". In the same manner, once again the author writes in the preface of the book "*Dictionary of Bhagavad Gītā*" that "the *Gītā* is meant not only for scholars and *paṇḍits*, but for the common man, for whom it is not possible to refer to scholarly books". This thought inspired the author to prepare this book. The author's thought to prepare the book itself is a novel contribution because in our daily life, we are so much intimate with the *Gītā* that hardly a thought will occur to do something new like this regarding the *Gītā*.

The *Dictionary* has been prepared after consulting a dozen dictionaries and encyclopedias, but, it appears that through oversight, the author has omitted a reference to the "*Vedānta Dictionary*" by Ernest Wood.

There are minor printing mistakes e.g. उच्छिष्टम on page no. 35, कर्मसङ्गिनाम्, कर्मसङ्गिषु, कर्मसङ्गेन on page no. 45, द्वन्द्वमोहनिर्मुक्ताः, द्विजोत्तम on page no. 94 etc. Sometimes, only one (first) occurence of a word is noted, not all, e.g. अन्तकाले on page no. 10 and असंमूढः on page no. 22. At some places, diacritical marks are not properly and uniformly used. Specially for common man, the author has given loose translations, as it is difficult at times to give the correct and exact meanings of Sanskrit words precisely in English, and many times meanings given are relative and not primary, which is the essence of a dictionary. It is needless to enlist प्रथमा एकवचन, द्वितीया एकवचन and बहुवचन of the same word separately, e.g.

आहारः	आहाराः	पुण्यः	पुण्याः
उक्तः	उक्ताः	पुत्राः	पुत्रान्
क्रोधः	क्रोधं	पुराणः	पुराणं
त्रिविधः	त्रिविधाः	प्रणश्यति	प्रणश्यन्ति
निग्रहः	निग्रहं	प्रपद्यते	प्रपद्यन्ते
नित्यः	नित्यं	प्रलीयते	प्रलीयन्ते
परा	परां	प्रवृत्तिः	प्रवृत्तिं
पश्यति	पश्यन्ति	प्रोक्तः	प्रोक्तं etc.

However, the book is very much helpful to beginners because it gives a detailed information regarding persons, places, terms and phrases and it makes a novel contribution to the literature on the *Gītā*. The entire book is excellent and useful to readers for the better understanding of the teachings of the Song of God. The author deserves our hearty congratulations for the same. The printing of this volume is neat and its get-up is quite attractive though the price of the book is beyond the reach of a common man.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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240. Janssens, Jacques. 1955. *Le Fable et les fabulistes.* Bruxelles: Office de publicité.

Traces the evolution of the fable from its beginnings through its "decline as a literary form." Sources and origins of the fable are now lost, but Janssens begins with primacy given to the Indian fable. Discusses the *Pañcatantra* and Aesop and his possible precursors; then the classical and medieval fable and the Renaissance forms through to La Fontaine, and finally the "fable overseas."

241. Jain, Phulakumvara. 1981. *Jātaka Kathāoṁ meṃ Nārī.* L. Saṁskavana, Ujjain: Aṇita Prakasaṇa. 80 pp.

Concerns the attitude of the Buddhists toward women, studied in the context of the Jātaka Stories (including two fables) with mention of the *Tipiṭaka,, Suttapiṭaka, Khaddakarikaya.*

242. Jha, Lakshmapa. 1975. *Panchatantra.* Delhi.

243. Johnson, F. 1864. *Hitopadesa: The Sanskrit text with a grammatical analysis alphabetically arranged.* Hartford-London.

244. Julien, Stanislas. 1860. *Contes et apologues indiens inconnus jusqu'àce jour suivis de fables et de poésies chinois.* Paris.

245. Juynboll, H. H. 1904. "Quelques fables de la rédaction en prose du Tantri comparées avec de fables indiennes." *Bifdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde.*56, 290 ff.

246. Kale, Moreswar Ramchandra. 1910 (3rd ed). *The Hitopadeśa of Nārāyaṇa: Edited with a Sanskrit Commentary, translation and notes.* Bombay.

247. Kale, Moreshwar Ramchandra. 1911. *The Student's Edition of the First Tantra of Vishnusarman.* Bombay: Narayan. 2 + 96 + 88 pp.

With Sanskrit introduction and a literal English translation and notes.

248. Kale, Moreshwar Ramchandra. 1924. *The Hitopadeśa of Nārāyaṇa: Ed. with a Sanskrit Commentary,* Bombay.

249. Kale, Moreshwar Ramchandra. 1969 (2nd ed). *Pañcatantra of Viṣṇuśarman.* Delhi: Motilal Barnarsidass.

A new version of the author's 1912. *The Student's Edition of the First Tantras of the Pañcatantra of Viṣṇuśarman Ed. with a short Sanskrit Commentary, [and] a Literal English Translation.*

250. Karimi, Gholam-Ali. 1975. "Le conte animalier dans la littérature arabe avant la traduction de Kalila wa Dimna. " *Bulletin d'ētudes orientales* 28, 51-56.

251. Kavthekar, Prabhakar Narayan. 1969. *Sanskrita Sāhitya Meṅ Nītikathā kā Udgama evaṅ Vikāsa.* (= Chowkhanibrashirabhasha series, no. 7). n.p. 16 + 448 pp.

A history of the Sanskrit fable and its place in Sanskrit literature.

252. Keith, A. Berriedale. 1915. "Kalila wa-Dimna." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1915,* 505 ff.

253. Keith-Falconer, I. G. N 1885. *Kalilah and Dimnah or the Fables of Bidpai.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 320 pp.

Contains a translation of the Syriac versions with synopses of longer pieces and an extensive introduction. Notes to the stories include a detailed accounting of the various origins of the elements of the collection.

254. Keller, John E. 1975. " From Masterpiece to Résumé : Don Juan Manuel's Misuse of a Source. " *Estudios literarios de hispanistas norteamericanos dedicados a Helmut Hatzfeld con motivo de su 80 aniversario.* Ed. Josep Sola-Solé, Alessandro Crisfulli and Bruno Damiani. Barcelona: Hispam. 480 pp. pp. 41-50.

Contains references to *Kalila wa Dimna.*

255. Keller, John E. and Robert White Linker. 1967. *El libro de Calila e Digna : Edición critica.* (= Clásicos Hispánicos II/XII.) Madrid : Consejo superior de Investigaciones cientifícas. xxxix + 374 pp.

256. Kielhorn, F., Ed. 1885 [sixth ed.]. *Pañcatantra I, with Notes.* (Bombay Sanskrit Series, no. 1). Bombay.

Sanskrit edition, continued by G. Bühler (q.v.).

257. Klinkert, H. C. 1871. *Pandja Tandaran, of de Geschledenis van Galilah en Daminah : Eene keur van Oostersche fabelen.* Zalt-Bommel vii + 101. pp.

Translation of ' Abd Allāh ibn ' Abd al-Kadir's Malay translation from the Tamil.

258. Knatchbull, Wyndham. 1819. *Kalila and Dimna, or the Fables of Bidpai.* Oxford: W. Baxter.

Translation from de Sacy's Arabic edition.

259. Kosambi, D. D. 1950. *Pancatantra.* Bombay: Nirnaya Sagar Press. 4 + 4 + 354 + 20 pp.

260. Krachkovskiy, Ignatii Yullanovich. [1st ed. 1934] 1957. *Kalila i Dimna.* Moscow: AN SSSP. iv + xciv + 288 pp.

261. Krishna, Anand. 1975. " Illustrated Leaves from a Pañcatantra Manuscript." *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture.* Ahmedabad.

Contains a number of illustrated fables from the *Pañcatantra.*

262. Krymski, A. E. 1913. *Abān al-Lāhiqi, le Zindiq (environ 750-815) versificateur arabe des recueils des apologues indo-europeans : Essai sur la vie et ses écrits, tirē de l'unique manuscrit de Souli [Bibl. Khéd].* Also in a Russian Edition, Moscow, 1913.

Edition of the first (of three) known versification of Ibn al-Muqaffa's arabic version of the Burzoe Pahlavi translation of the *Pañcatantra,* by Abān al-Lāhiki, a younger contemporary of Ibn al-Muqaffa. See Houtsma.

263. Kühnel, Ernst. 1937. " A Bidpai Manuscript of 1343-44 (744 H.) in Cairo. " *Bulletin of the American Institute of Iranian Art and Archaeology* 5 : 2, 137-141.

Description of BN. Pers. 2028.

264. Lacarra, Maria Jesus. 1984. " Un fragmento inédito del *Calila e Dimna* (Ms. P.) ". *El Crotalón* 1, 679-706.

Medieval Spanish version with the Ibn al-Muqaffá introduction.

265. Lajos, Dézsi. 1926. *Rosnyai Dávid Horologium Turcicum.* (= Règi magyar könyvtár, no. 38.) Budapest. 260 pp.

A Hungarian version of the Humāyūn-nāme, a Turkish translation of the *Kalila wa-Dimna.*

266. Landau, Marcus. 1884. *Die Quellen des Dekameron.* 2nd ed. Stuttgart. xviii + 345 pp.

pp. 19-39 deal with the influence of the *Pañcatantra* and its derivatives upon the *Decamerone* of Boccaccio.

267. Lancereau, Édouard, trans. and ed. 1965. *Pañcatantra traduit du Sanskrit.* Introduction by Louis Renou (= Connaissance de I 'Orient, no. 20.) Paris : Gallimard. 383 pp.

268. Laufer, Berthold. 1898. " Fünf Indische Fabeln aus dem mongolischen. " *ZDMG* 52, 283-288.

Contains " Elephant and the Mice " (sim. to Hitopadeśa I, 8); " Cat as Monk " (P 592, known from the Odo of Cheriton fable collection) in a number of forms, and other fables.

269. Leela, Sumari S. 1968. *Fables from the Panchatantra.* Bombay: IBH Publishing. 60 pp.

270. Lesny, V. 1917-1918. " Zur tschechischen Version des Liber Kalilae et Dimnae.". *WZKM* 31, 338-346.

The Nikolaus Konāc Czech translation of the *Directorium* by John of Capua in a copy found in the Regni Bohemiae Museum (there Sig. 27 A 21). dated 1528. Prints a sample fable in German, Czech and Latin.

271. Lessing, Doris, 1980. " Introduction." *Kalila and Dimna : Selected Tales of Bidpai.* Retold by Ramsay wood. Illustrated by Margaret Kilrenny. New York: Knopf. pp. ix-xix.

272. Leumann, Ernst. 1892. " Da'savai kālika-sutra und-niryakti nach dem Erzählungsgehalt untersucht und herausgegeben." *ZDMG* 46, 594 ff.

273. Leumann, Ernst. 1902 [1904]. "Die Hamburger und Oxforder Handschriften des Panchatantra (Auszug)." *Verhandlungen des xiii. Internationalen Orientalisten Kongresses. Hamburg, 1902.* Leiden. pp. 24-29.

Selections from the named manuscripts; draws attention to "die Pancatantra-Reflexe in der Jaina Literatur," the middle-Indian (Pakrit) counterparts of *Pañcatantra* stories found in the Jaina commentaries (ca. 7th century). Leumann considers these to be of high value because of their age.

274. Liao, Chaoyang. 1987. " Figuralism in Chinese Narrative : Readings in the *Pañcatantra*, the *Lotus Sutra*, and the *Jinpinmei*. " Dissertation.

275. Likhachev, Ia. S. et al. 1969. *Stefanit i Ikhilat.* Leningrad : Nauka. 248 pp.

276. Ligeti, L. 1948. *Le Subāṣitaratnanidhi mongol, un document du moyen mongol : I. Le manuscrit tebéto-mongol en reproduction phototypique avec une introduction.* Budapest.

Identifies *Pañcatantra* tales and fables in the Mongolian *Subhasitaratnanichi.*

277. Ligeti, L. 1964. " Les fragments du *Subhāsitaratnanidhi* mongol en écriture ' phags-pa. Le mongol préclassique et le moyen mongol. "

Acta Orientalia Hungarica 17 : 3, 239-292.

278. Llinarés, Armand. 1959. ' Deux Versions médiévales espagnoles de ' La Laitiére et le pot au lait '. " " *Revue de littérature comparée* 33, 230-234.

A note on La Fontaine's version of the " Milkmaid and the Pot of Milk " (VII, 10; A-T 1430) together with the Bidpai version and that of Juan Manuel (1282-1348). Mention is made of the motif in Rabelais as well.

279 Lorgeon, E. 1921. *Les Entrtiens de Nang Tantrai.* Paris.

A French translation of the Thai Version (Tantrai).

280. Loiseleur Deslongchamps, August L. A. 1838. *Essai sur les fables indiennes et sur leur introduction en Europe.* Paris.

281. Luria, S. 1934. " L'asino nella pella del Leone (unparallelo fra le favole dell'India e quelle dell'antica Grecia."

Discusses the interrelationships of a group of fables concerned with an upstart who earns the mockery of his society by boasting. Includes P188 and P358 " Ass in Lion's Skin " (A-T 214) as well as P151 " Lion and Ass Hunting Together," and P82 " Ass, Cock and Lion." Luria adds a number of Indian motifs and claims Indian origin for the group; suggesting that the upstart's action is a reflection of the Indian caste system.

282. MacKean, Phillip Frick. 1921. "The Mouse Deer (*kantjil*) in Malayo-Indonesian Folklore: Atec Native Analysis and the Significance of a Trickster Figure in South-East Asia." *Asian Folklore Studies* 30.

The *Kantijl* cycle contains many fabular motifs, some certainly from the Jātakas and the *Pañcatantra,* as well as other Indian and South East Asian fable traditions, as McKean points out, but he sees a connection of this source to the *Pañcatantra* and Aesop. (The *Pañcatantra* does have an as yet not well defined relationship to the Jātakas; the fables of the Aesopic tradition in the main do not). McKean finds six "motifemes" in the Kantjil tales in this very eclectic study.

283. Mackenzie, Charles F. 1928. *Persian Wonder Tales : Adapted from the Perstan.* London.

284. Mahajan, Jagmohan. 1980. "The Migration of Indian Fables" *Indian and Foreign Review* 17 : 13 [15 April], 25-26.

285. Mahjub, Muhammad Ja'far. 1970. *Dar'barah–' i Kalilah va Dimna : tarikhchah, tarjumah'ha va du bab'i tarjumah na-shudah az Kalilah va Dimna.* Tehran : Shirkat-i Saham-i Intisharat-i Khvarezm.

286. Mankowski, Leo von. 1892. *Der Auszug aus dem Pañcatantra in Kshemendras Bṛihatkathāmañjarī: Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen.* Leipzig. lv + 32 + 80 pp.

An edition with extensive background material of a derivative of the *Bṛhatkathā* in Pakrit.

287. Mansy, A. A. "The Fable and the Tale in East and West : The Fables of Bidpai and the Fables of La Fontaine." *Al-Magallah* 30, 111-114.

288. Manuel, Thomas Phillip, trans. 1861. *The Khirud-Ufroz....translated from to Oordoo.* n. pl. 49 pp. 2nd edition 1891. 3 + 99 pp.

A translation of Hafiz al-Din Ahmad's Hindi version of the Bidpai fables.

289. Marchino, Michele, 1900. *L'Origine della favola greca e i suoi rapporti con le favole orientali.* Trani : Vecchi. xii + 504 pp.

Evaluates the then current theories of the Indian origin of the fable, and attempts to draw lines of correspondence and transmission between Babrius and the *Pañcatatra* and, from there, to more general analogues between the larger body of Indian fables to the body of Greek fables. Fables of Arabian, Hebrew and other near-Easten origins, as well as fables from all over the world, are discussed with no firm conclusions. The idea of the fabale as a literary genre seems to Marchino to be specifically Greek, Index and bibliography.

290. Marr. N. 1899. *Recueil des Fables de Vardan.* St. Petersburg.

On the Armenian version of *Kalila wa-Dimna* from the 13th century (In Russian, with French summary).

291. al-Marsafī, Muhammad Hasan Nā'il, ed. 1966. *Kitāb Kalīlah wa-Dimna.* n.p. 431 pp + illustrations.

292. Matthaei, F. A. L. 1846. *Des Braminen Pilpaī : Weisheit der Indier in Fablen, zur Unterhaltung und Belehrung der Jugend aus gebildeten Ständen.* Hannover : Helwing. xiv + 239 pp.

293. Menéndez y Pelayo, Segun. 1945. " Introduction." *Calila y Dimna.* Madrid.

294. Menéndez Peláez, Jesus. 1983. " Un fragmento desconocido del Calila e Digna en un manuscrito de la ctedral de Toledo. " *Revista de Literatura* 45 (89), 167-172.

Deals generally with " wisdom literature, " questions whether the edition of *Kalila wa-Dimna* as represented in the Keller/Linker edition is the only surviving version on the Iberian peninsula. Finds a fragment in Ms 18 (Cathedral of Oviedo) and prints text.

295. Menhardt. Hermann. 1953. " Funde zu Ulrich von Pottenstein. " *Festschrift für W. Stammler.* Berlin. pp. 146-171.

296. du Meril, Edelstand. 1854. *Poésies inédites du moyen-âge, précédées d'une histoire de la fable ésopique.* Paris.

pp. 452-453 contain the fables of Baldo, whose collection is in part made up of fables from the *Kalila wa-Dimna.*

297. Millé y Gimenez, Juan. 1924. " La Fábula de la lechera a través de las diversas literaturas. " *Nosotros* 43, 203-225.

Traces the history of " Dairy Maid Pot of Milk " (La Fontaine 7, 10 : " La Laitiére et le pot au lait. " A-T 1430) from the *Pañcatantra* and the Hitopadeśa in the Indian tradition to the *Thousand and One Nights* the *Kalila wa-Dimna* in Arabic and then to the Latin versions in Europe.

298. Millé y Giménez, Juan. 1928. " La fábula de la lechera a través de las diveras literaturas. " " *Biblioteca de Humanidades* 7, 1-32. [*Estudios de Litteraturas Española.* La Plata.

On " Dairy Maid and the Pot of Milk " (see previous entry).

299. Minovi Mojtaba. 1959. " The Abridged Version of the Kalila wa-Dimna by al-Ma'mūn the Caliph." *Akten des vierundzwanzigsten Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses : Milnchen, 28 Aug. b. 4 Sept.* Ed. H. Franke. Wiesbaden : Harrasowitz. pp. 316-318.

300. Miquel, André. 1957. *Ibn al-Mukaffa : Le Livre de Kalila et Dimna : Fables de Bidpai.* Paris : Librairie C. Klincksieck.

301. Miquel, André. 1964. " La Fontaine et la version arabe des fables de Bidpai : Reflexions sur la structure de la fable." *Revue de Littérature Comparée* 38, 35-50.

On the influence of the *Kalila wa-Dimna* upon La Fontaine, not only with source materials but also in style and structure.

302. Miquel, André. 1980. *Le Livre de Kalila et Dimna d'Ibn al-Muqaffa.* (= Études arabes et islamiques, textes et traductions, no. 1.) Paris.

303. Moghegh, Mehdi. 1976. " Pañcatantra in Persian and Arabic Literature." *Proceedings of the First International Sanskrit Conference : Delhi 1977.* Ed. V. Raghavan. Section 2, Part 2. Delhi : Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan Bhavan. pp. 407-410.

304. Monier-Williams, Sir Monier. 1893 [4th ed]. *Indian Wisdom.* London.

305. Monkowski, L. V. 1892. *Der Auszug aus dem Pañcatantra in Ksemendras Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī. Einleitung, Text und Anmerkungen.* Leipzig.

306. Montiel, Isidoro. 1975. *Historia y Bibliografia del 'libro de calila y Dimna.'* Madrid : Editora Nacional. 223 pp.

An excellent introduction to the *Kalila wa-Dimna*, especially for the European versions. Contains the most complete listings of *Kalıla wa-Dimna* (and derivative) manuscript to be found anywhere.

307. Moreno, Martino Mario. 1910. *La Versione araba del libro di Kalilah e Dimnah.* San Remo : Bianchini. i-xxvii + 207 pp. Italian translation.

308. Moreno, Martino Mario. 1923. *Cent fables amhariques.* n.p.

309. Mostafa, M. A. 1948. *The Fables of Bidpai (The Indian Aesop).* Cario : Nile Printing House. 244 pp.

310. Mowry, Hua-yuan Li. 1980. " The Wolf of Chung-Shan." *Tamkang Review* 11, 139-159.

Deals with the *Chung-shan lung chuan* [Story of the wolf of Chung-Shan] by Ma Chung-hsi (1446-1512), a Ming form of a wolf tale identical in motif to P (40 " Man and Serpent " (A-T 155) known from the *Pañcatantra* to modern collections and found in the Reynard the Fox cycle. Mowry sees the earliest Chung-Shan wolf variant in the *Disciplina clericalis* (12th century); the Chinese form is dependent upon the *Pañcatantra.*

311. Muhriz, M. 1940. " Rusūm Kalīla wa-Dimna. " Dissertation : Cairo.

312. Mukherjee, Jatindra Nath. 1977. " Rich Legacy of Panchatantra. *Indian Review* [Madras] 72 : 11, 55-66.

A note on the materials and the derivatives of the *Pañcatantra.*

313. Mukherjee, Jatindra Nath. 1978. " Origin and Evolution of Folklore, with Special Reference to the Panchatantra. " *Modern Review* [Calcutta] 8: 1, 29-30.

Works from a curious idea of folklore; seems to be suggesting that the literary forms of a fable are to be considered folklore.

314. Müller, Max. 1875. " On the Migration of Fables. " *Chips from a German Workshop.* London: Longmans. 4, 145-209. Also in *Selected Essays on Language, Mythology and Religion.* 1, 500-576. Also reprinted *World's Best Literature.* Ed. Charles Warner. New York : Hill, 10429-10441.

The fable of the " Dairy maid and the Milkpot " (La Fontaine 7, 10 ; " la laitière et le pot au lait, " A-T 1430) is traced from the *Pañcatantra* to the Hitopadeśa, the *Kalila wa Dima* and through various versions during the Middle Ages in Ages in Arabic, Persian and Latin. Done with an eye toward demonstrating Müller's theory of the migration of fable motifs from one culture to another.

315. Najm, Muhamman Yusuf. 1961. *K. Muddhāl k. Kalilah wa-Dimnah bimā ashabahaba minash'ar al'arab.* Beirut.

316. Naraya, Badri. 1982. " Our Fables Fashioned their Folklore. " *Times of India* [Delhi] (Sunday Review, January, 1982), 31: 111, 1-4.

317. Needham, Rodney. 1960. " Jataka, Pancatantra and Kodi Fables. " *Bifdragen to de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 116, 232-262.

318. Neubauer, Adolf. 1862. " Das Xe Capital der hebräischen Übersetzung des Kalilah und Dimnah. *Orient und Occident* 1, 418-496 and 657-680.

With text and translation.

319. Nöldeke, Theodor. 1879. *Die Erzählung von mäusekönig und seine Ministern : Ein Abschnitt der Pehlevi-Bearbeitung des altindischen Fürstenspiegels.* Göttingen : Dieterich. 16 pp.

320. Nöldeke, Theodor. 1905. "Zu Kalila wa Dimna." *ZDMG* 59 [reprinted in Louis Chiekho 1981, *La Version arabe de Kalilah et Dimnah, ou, Les Fables de Bidpai: publiee d'apres le plus ancien manuscrit arabe.* Amsterdam: Apa Philo Press. pp. 794-806].

Describes the lack of a version of the *Kalila wa-Dimna* in its original form, and suggest the reasons why we are unlikely to ever see one, as it would have traveled around as a "Volksbuch," a status that it gained, not one it had from the literary beginning. One manuscript that comes close is Zotenberg's "Q" (see Zotenberg 1886). Discusses a number of *Kalila wa-Dimna* fables and other pieces in detail.

321. Nöldeke, Theodor. 1912. *Burzoes Einleitung zu dem Buch Kalila wa-Dimna.* Straβburg: Schriften der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Straβburg. Fasc. 12. 27 pp.

322. Olbracht, Ivan. [1964]. *Altindische Fabeln.* Trans. from the Czech by Erich Bertleff. Prague: Artia. 219 pp. English version, trans. Atya and T Havlü. London: Hamlyn. 219 pp.

323. Ophuijen, Chr. A. 1913 [1965]. *Hikayat Pancha Tanderan.* Leiden: P. W. M. Trap (second edition, 1922). Reprint: 1965 Kuala Lumpur/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

324. Ouseley, Joseph Walker Jasper, ed. 1851. *Anwar-i-Suhaili, or, Lights of Canopus, being the Persian Version of the Fables of Bidpai by Husain Vaiz Kashif.* Hertford: East India Company. 545 pp.

Edition of the *Anwār-i-Suhailī* in Persian. See: Wollaston 1904 for English translation.

325. Pāndeya, Rāmateja, 1964. *Śrīviṣṇuśarmāviracitam Pañcatantram.* Delhi. 2 + 4 + 599 pp.

Hindi and Sanskrit edition.

326. Pandeya, Syamacarana, ed. and trans. 1967. *Pañcatantram.* Delhi. 2 + 747 pp.

Hindi and Sanskrit text.

327. Pandya, Vijay. 1982. "Pancatantra: A Work of Inexhaustible Humour" *Bharatiya Vidya* [Bombay] 42: 1-2, 71-76.

328. Papademetriou, John-Theopanes. 1960. "Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of *Stephanites kai Ichnelates.*" Dissertation: University of Illinois at Urbana. 207 pp.

Presents the Greek text of the fables translated in the eleventh century from the Arabic by Symeon Seth, dealing with some thirty-five manuscripts in the tradition. Describes the history and success of the work. Good bibliography, especially for the manuscript tradition.

329. Papademetriou, John-Theophanes. 1961. "The Sources and Character of Del Governo de' Regni." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 92, 422-4439.

Describes the *Del governo de' Regni*, a 1583 translation of the Fables of Bidpai printed at Ferrara, and derived ultimately from the *Pañcatantra*. A history of the material and a discussion of the nature of the translation follow. The alterations found do not appear to be systematic changes, rather they appear to be haphazard; no stories were added or omitted.

330. Papademetriou, John-Theophanes. 1968. *Archaion Ellenikon mythographaphikon thema kai mythoi tou Vatikanou Kodikos 1139*. Athens: n.p. 30 pp. Also in *Epeteris Etaireias Byzantinon Spoudod* 36, 241-259.

The motif of iron-or gold-eating mice (flies) is found in a number of Greek and Roman authors but it appears to have had its origins in Eastern, specifically Indian sources. The fable containing this motif is found in the *Pañcatantra* and its derivatives, ultimately making its way to La Fontaine (IX, 1 "Le Dépositaire infidéle)." The texts of the fable and other texts containing this motif are discussed as translations from the Greek

331. Papdemetriou, John-Theophanes. 1970. "The Mutation of An Ancient Greek Proverb." *Revue des Etudes Grecques* 83, 94-105. Reprinted in Pack Carnes, ed. 1988. *Proverbia In Fabula: Essays on the Relationship of the Proverb and the Fable* (Bern: Lang, 1988), 195-208.

Although the belief in iron-eating mice seems to have died out, still the proverbial use of the image has survived in Greek oral tradition. The proverb is not likely to have come into being with the background of the story. The motif is traced to the *Pañcatantra* and early Greek forms. See previous entry.

332. Parab, Kashinath Pandurang, ed. 1902. *Pañcatantra of Vishnusarman*. Bombay, Nirnaya Sagara Press.

333. Paris, Gaston. 1885. "Imitaciones de Calila e Dimna." *Histoire Littéraire de La France* 39, 254-260.

334. Paris, Gaston. 1899. "Les Manuscrits du Kalila et Dimna de Jean da Capoue." *Journal des Savants* (1899), 581-588.

335. Paris, Gaston. 1906. " Raimond de Béziers : Traducteur et compilateur. " *Historire littéraire de la France* 33, 191-253.

The story of Raimond de Béziers translating a Castilian version of the *Kilila wa-Dimna* into Latin for Jeanne de Navarre-Champagne leads to a lengthy and comprehensive introduction to the transmission of the Bidpai fables and the tradition of such fables in Europe. The material is traced from Sanskrit to Pahlevi to Syriac, Arabic, Hebrew and Spanish. Manuscript families are traced and some individual fabular motifs are discussed in some detail. Extensive bibliographical materials are cited in the notes.

336. Parker, Margaret. 1978. *The Didactic Structure and Intent of El Libro de Calila e Digna.* Miami, Florida : Ediciones Universal.

337. Pawate, C. I. 1986. *The Panchatantra and Aesop's Fables : A Study in Genre.* Delhi : Amor Pra. vii + 122 pp.

338. Payer von Thurn, Rudolf, ed. 1925. *Das Buch der Weisheit gedruckt und vollendet durch Lienhart von Holle zu Ulm.... Faksimile-Druck.* Vienna : Wiener Bibliophilengesellschaft. vii + 392 pp.

339. Paykova, A. V. 1964. " Kompozitziya sbornika ' Kalila i Dimna ' (po drevne siriyskoi versii) " *Palestinskii sbornik* 11, 139-153.

340. Paykova, A. V. 1965. " Oznachenii drevnesiriyskoi versii sbornika " Kalila i Dimna'." *Kratkie soobschcheniya Instituta narodov Azii* 85, 35-44.

341. Paykova, A. V. 1967. " O proiskhozkdenii drevnesirigskoi versii sbornika ' Kalila i Dimna ' " *Palestinskii Sbornik* 17 [80], 110-120.

342. Paykova, A. V. 1969. " Kniga ' Kalila i Dimna ' kak ' zertsala ' " *Palestinskii sbornik* 19, 94-117.

343. Pellat, Ch., A. Bausani, Portev Naili Boratev and R. O. Winstedt. 1979. " Hikāya." *The Encyclopedia of Islam.* Leiden : E. J. Brill. 3, 367-377.

Hikāya is used to mean tale or narrative but is also to signify the fables (amthal) in the *Kalila wa-Dimna.* This long article discusses the use of the term for a number of types of tales in a variety of languages, from Arabic to Persian. Other types of fables fall under this collective term, especially the fables in other popular cycles, usually also considered to be of remote Indian origins: the *Sindbād nāma* (Book of Sindbad), the *Tūti-nāma* (Book of the Parrot). Many neo-Persian works have their contents listed as *Hikāya* : the *Anar-i Suhaylī*; the *Marzbā-nāma* of

Sa'd al-Din of Vavāmin (1225); and the term is used for corresponding materials in Malay: *Hikayat Kalila wa-Dimna* from the seventeenth century.

344. Pensol, Pedro. 1931. *Las Traucclones del ' Calila e Dimna.'* Madrid: Impr. de Ramona Velasco.

345. Peterson, Peter, ed. 1887. *Histopadeśa by Nārāyaṇa.* (= Bombay Sanskrit Series, no. 33), Bombay.

346. Pfaff, Friedrich. 1897. " Anthonius von Pforr und sein Buch der Beispiele dern alte Weisen. " *Schau ins-Land!* 24, 29-46.

347. vom Pforr, Anton. 1970 [Facsimile reprint of 1483 edition]. *Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen.* Unterschneidheim : Verlag Walter Uhl.

Reproduction of the German translation of John of Capua's Latin translation, first printed 1470. Ulm, by Lienhart Holle.

348. Pihan. A. P. 1886. *Choix de fables et historiettes traduites de l'arabe et accompagnees d'un grand nombre.* Algiers.

One section of the collection contains fables from the *Kalila wa-Dimna.*

349. Pizzagalli, A. M. 1933. " Mons parturiens. Un parallelo indiano della favole iv. 23 di Fedro. " *Rendiconti del Instituto Lombabardo die Science e Lettere* [Milan] 66, 1086-1090.

350. Pizzi, I. 1896. *Le norelle indiano di Visnusarme* [*sic*] (*Panchatantra*). Torino. viii + 232 pp.

351. Potraz, Hans-Joachim. 1932. " Das " Buch der Beispiele " : eine Überlieferungsstudie. " *Zeitschrift der deutschen Philologie* 57, 313-332.

Deals with the seventeen editions printed between 1483 and 1592 and two manuscripts, describing the changes found in these editions, and comparing these to the two manuscripts, and the readings found in Benfey 1862 (q.v.). ending with a tree of relationships.

352. Prater, S. H. 1971. *The book of Indian Animals.* 3rd ed. Bombay.

353. Puntoni, Vittorio, ed. 1881. " Alcune favole dello Stephanites kai Ichnelates secondo una redazione inedita di Prete Giovanni Escammatismeno. " *Studi de filologia greca publicati dal Prof. E, Piccolomini.* Torino. I, 29-58. Also published separately : Turin 1881.

Fables taken from Simon Seth's Greek version.

354. Puntoni, Vittorio. 1884. " Directorium humanae vitae alias parabolae anti-

quorum sapientum." *Annali filosofia e filologia, Reale scuola normale superiore de Pisa* 4, 101-454. Also published separately : Pisis, 1881. xvi + 353 pp.

An edition of the *Directorium* preceded by an introduction tracing the history and relationships of the collection from its origins through the Greek version.

355. Puntoni, Vittorio. 1886. "Sopra alcune recensioni dello *Stephanites kai Ichnelates.*" *Atti della R. Academia dei Lincei memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* [1886], 172-182.

Notes to Puntoni's edition of the Greek translations of the *Kalila wa-Dimna* (*Stephanites kai Ichnelates.* Justifies various textual decisions and manuscript relationships.

356. Puntoni, Vittorio. 1889. Stephanites kai Ichnelates : *Quatro recensioni della versione greca del Kitāb Kalilah wa-Dimna.* (= Publicazioni della Societá Asiatica Italiana no. 2.) Florence : Le Monnier. xxv + 316 pp.

357. Puntoni, Vittorio. 1912. *La Favola esopica dell'aquila e della testuggine.* Bollogna : Gamberini e Parmeggiani. 36 pp.

An extensive exposition of P 230 " Turtle and Eagle, comparing the Babrian and Avianus versions to that found in the Indian fable tradition especially as expressed by the Greek translation of the *Kalila wa-Dimna.* the *Stephanites kai Ichnelates* by Simon Seth.

358. Pushparatha Chettiar, W. 1891-1893. *Panchatantram.* 5 parts. Madras.

The northern recension, as revised by Tandararāya Mudaliyar. In English and Tamil.

359. Qandīl. ' Abd. al-Mun'im, ed. n.d. *Kalilah wa-Dimna.* Cario. 203 pp.

360. Quilici. P., bey, trans. 1936. *Kalila et Dimna: Contes et apologues de Bidpai.* Paris: Editions des Cahiers gris. 299 pp.

361. Raj, Mytle Dorai. 1966. " An Indian Source for the Medieval Beast Epic: *Reynard the Fox* Considered as a Derivative of the *Panchatantra.*" Dissertation: University of California—Berkeley. 192 pp.

Reynard the Fox is ultimately to be derived from the fables of the *Pañcatantra*, although it has drawn into itself a number of wolf/fox stories of European origin. The frame story is the key element. Chronological and geographical considerations are brought to bear upon the argument which includes a number of generalizations about the transmission of fabular motifs as well. Motif and Tale Type indices are provided. See Adrados 1984.

362. Rajaratnam Pillai, T. A., ed. 1928 [8th ed. 1950]. *Pancatantiram=Tamil Pachatantram.* Madras: Christian Literature Society for India. iii+187 pp.

363. Ramusvāmi Rāku, P., ed. 1901. Indian Fables. London; Sonnenschein. xii + 129 pp.

364. Rasmussen, H. 1893. *De aeldste indiske Aeventyr og fablereller Fembogen et udding af Visnusarmans Pantjatantra.* Kopenhagen. xxiii + 246 pp.

365. Rehmann, Muhammad Jaimlur. 1917. *Anwar-e-Sohaili, Book III. Reprinted from the English Translation of A. N. Wollaston. Thoroughly Revised and Corrected.* Chandanwadi. 37 pp.

366. Riabinina, M. V. 1889. *Kniga Kalilah i Dimnah: eia poiskhozhdenie i istoriia. Sprilozheniem sinopticheskoi karty genealogicheskikh otnoshenii istokov pamiatnika.* Moscow: Gerboka.

367. Ribezzo, Francsco. 1901. *Nuovi studi sull'origine e la propagazione delle favole indoelleniche, comunemente dette esopiche.* Naples: Gianni & Figli.

A philological and folkloristic study of the origin and diffusion of fables. Part three considers the Indian origin of fables with a series of motifs traced to India through a number of intermediaries.

368. Rice, Stanley, ed. 1924 [latest edition 1974]. *Ancient Indian Fables Stories: Being a Selection from the Panchatantra.* (=Wisdom of the East Series.) Norwood, PA.: Norwood Editions. 126 pp.

369. Ricklinger, Erich. 1909. *Studien zur Tierfabel von Hans Sachs.* Dissertation: Munich. Published 1909, Munich: Kastner und Caliwey.

Identifies the animal fables of Hans Sachs and discusses the general features of medieval replication from Latin sources. The 136 *Meisterlieder* and the 53 *Spruchgedichte* are analyzed with regard to sources, including the Bidpai translations.

370. Robinson, B. W. 1958. "The Tehran Manuscript of *Kalila wa-Dimna*: A Reconsideration." *Oriental Art* 4, 3-10.

On the Gulistan copy of the *Kalila wa-Dimna,* which was first shown at Burlington House in 1931 and first assigned to the Herat school of the late fifteenth century. The relationship of this manuscript to the Istanbul text is discussed and it is dated to the third quarter of the fifteenth century, possible very soon after 1468.

371. Robinson, B. W. 1970. "Prince Bàysunghur and the Fables of Bidpai." *Oriental Art* 16, 1-10.

On Bāysunghur's manuscripts of the *Kalila wa-Dimna* from 1429-1430 in the Topkapi library, Istanbul, numbered R, 1022 (Karatay : nos. 864 and 867). Fables, illustrations and scribes are well described and identified and connections to the Gulistan manuscript are suggested.

372. Robinson, B. W. 1972. "The Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the Marquees of Brute: Part II." *Oriental Art* [NS] 18, 50-56.

Description and evaluation of Lord Bute's manuscript of the Anwār i Suhaylī, with emphasis upon the miniatures which are identified as those of Sadigu Beg Afshār. Numerous illustrations.

373. Rosengarten, Johannes Gottfried, ed. 1848. *Pantschatantrum, sive quinquepartitum de moribus exponens : Ex codicibus manuscriptis edidet, commentariis criteus auxit.* Bonn: Koenig.

374. Ross, E. Denison. 1926-28. "An Arabic and a Persian Metrical Version of Burzoe's autobiography from 'Kalila and Dimna'." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 4. 441-477.

Publishes two poetical versions of the "Burzoe Legend," one in Persian by a poet named Qānī'ī as found in the unique manuscript B.M. Add. 7766, dated 1459; the other an Arabic version by a poet named Naqqāsh, found in B.M. Or. 3626, and another copy in the Library of the Catholic Fathers in Beirut. Prints texts with historical commentary.

375. Ruben, Walter. 1959. *Das Pañcatantra und seine Morallehre*. Berlin : Akademie Verlag. 305 pp.

Despite frequent references to a series of imagined "class struggles," and to the fable scholars Engel and Lenin (!), this work provides the best available introduction to the ethos of the *Pañcatantra*. Ruben discusses the *Tantrākhyaya* in great detail together with a section on the Indian commentaries, and a comparative study of Aesop and the *Pañcatantra*. The second half of the work is a series of essays on the general theme of the fable collection and its ethical teachings, often described as a function of the struggle between the "exploiters" and the people. Ruben suggest that the slave became a proto-martyr early in pre-Vedic mythology.

376. Ryder, Arthur W. 1925. *Gold's Gloom : Tales from the Panchatantra*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press. vi + 151 pp.

377. Ryder, Arthur W. 1925 [1972] *The Panchatantra*. New York : Printed for the Members of the Limited Editions Club. 366 pp.

378. De Sacy, Silvestre. 1816. *Calila et Dimna, ou Fables de Bidpai, en árabe, précédées d'un mémoire sur l'origine de ce livre, et sur les diverses traductions qui en ont éte faites dans l'Orient, et suives de la Moallaka de Lébid, en árabe et en francais.* 2 vols. Paris.

Earliest attempt at an Arabic edition.

379. Sadagopa Chariar, M. C. 1887. *Panchatantra ; An Exact English Translation III, 4 to IV, 2.* Trichinopoly : Ripon Press.

380. Salloum, Dawood. 1987. "The Influence of Mesopotamian and Arabic Literature on Aesopic Fables." *Al-Ma'thurat Al-Sha'biyyah : A Scientific Quarterly for Folklore Specialists, Practitioners and Advocates* 2 : 5, 9-19.

A somewhat confused historical overview leading to a shallow investigation of thirteen Aesopic type fables and the direct origin of their Arabic analogues mentioning nine fable writers : Al-Jahiz (d. 898), Ibn Qutayba (d. 986), Al-Tawhidi (d. 1023), Al-Tha'libi (d. 1407), Al-Qairawani (d. 1405) in the first group (" between the pre-Islamic time and the Crusades " [?]) and the second period " falls between and after the Crusader's invasion ") : Ibn Al-Jawzi (d. 1200), Al-Sharishi (d. 1223) and Al-Ibshihi (d. 1448), Al-Maydani (d. 1124) is to be added to the first group, because his fables and proverbs dealt primarily with pre-Islamic materials. Based apparently upon the 1852 James edition of Aesop's fables, Salloum concludes that the " Mesopotamian and Arabic fables have had a great impact upon what was attributed to Aesop or the Roman writers after him." See Brockelman 1926.

381. Salomon, F. 1908-1912. " Beiträge zur Fabelliteratur nach zwei Karschuni Handschriften. " *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 22, 237-283; 23, 328-362; 27, 324-357.

Begins this edition of 38 fables (from two manuscripts : Cod. Petermann 24, then in the Imperial Library in Berlin with 58 fables; and Cod. Pertsch 27, 1 with 57 fables) with a short introduction on Arabic fables and their relation to Indian and Aesopic forms. Introduction, text and textual notes.

382. Sandesara, B. J. 1949. *Pañcatantra : Gujarati Translation. With a Comparative Study of Different Versions and an Exhaustive Introduction.* Bombay : Gujarati Sahitya Parishad.

383. Sarada Balasubramanian, Alladi. 1976. " The Immortal Panchatantra, " *Indian Horizons* [New Delhi] 25 : 1-2, 81-86.

384. Sarkak, S. C. 1981. *A Study of the Jatakas and the Avadanus : Critical and Comparative.* Calcutta : Saraswat Library. xiv + 112 pp.

385. Sayani, H. I. 1925. *The Anwar-e-Suhaili, Chapter I. Translated from the Persian by Arthur N. Wollaston. . . . Thoroughly Revised.* Bombay : Homee, Sorab & Co. 83 p. See Wooloston 1909.

386. Schiefner, Anton. 1987a. " Mahakatjajana und König Tschanda-Pradjota : Ein Cyclus buddhistischer Erzählungen. " *Memoires de l'Academie Imperiale des Sciences de St. Peteresbourg.* Series III, volume 22, number 7, articles nos. 19 and 20, pp. 47-66.

On Tibetan fables from Indian sources found in a tale cycle.

387. Schiefner, Anton, ed. 1875b. *Viro Illustrissimo Victori Bouniakowsky gratulatur Imperialis Academiae scientiarum Petropolitanae classis historico-philologica. Bjaratae responsa tibetice cum versione latina.*

A Tibetan version of " Bilar, " from the Bidpai fables.

388. Schiefner, Anton, trans. 1926. *Tibetan Tales Dervied from Indian Sources.* Trans. W. R. S. Ralston Ed. and with a preface by C. A. F. Rhys David. London, 1926.

Schiefner presents a lkarge collection of tales, including many fables, from Indian sources as found in the Tibetan of the Kahgyur. Book eleven of that work is an adaption of the *Kalila wa-Dimna*

389. Schleifer, J. 1915. " Studien in Kalila wa-Dimna. " *WZKM* 29, 399-419.

390. Schmidt, József. 1959. *Pancsantantra azaz ötos könyv. Szanszkrit eredetiböl forditotta S. J.* Budapest.

391. Schmidt, Richard. 1901. *Das Pañcatantram (textus ornatior) : Eine altindische Märchensammlung zum ersten Male übersetzt.* Leipzig : Lotus Verlag. 326 pp. + 4 plates.

392. Schulthess, Friedrich. 1911a. *Kalila und Dimna : Syrisch und Deutsch.* 2 vol. Berlin : G. Reimer.

Text and translation of the Periodeutes Bûd manuscript of the Old Syriac version of the *Pañcatantra.* The unique manuscript is an Syriac version of the Burzoe Pahlavi translation from Sanskrit, with the addition of other fables from Indian sources. Three copies of the Pedriodeutes manuscript (which Sachsau had prepared while the manuscript was still in Môsul) form the text used by Schulthess. As a result this text and translation is more accurate than that of Bickell (q.v.).

393. Schulthess, Friedrich. 1911b. " Die Mardiner Handschrift von Kalila und Dimna. " *ZDMG* 65, 560.

394. Sen, Dineshchandra. 1920. *The Folk Literature of Bengal.* Foreward by W. R. Gourly. Berkeley/Calcutta : University of California Press. xix + ix + 362 pp.

395. Seran, Herman Joseph. 1961. " Didactic Elements of Panchatantra Origin in Indonesian Fables and Their Social Values. " Dissertation : University of San Carlos.

A discussion of the motifs common to Indonesian " folk " tales and the *Pañcatantra* focusing on the moral system in the animal stories and on their application to present-day social problems in Indonesia.

396. Sfair, Antonio Chalita. 1965 [2nd ed. 1972]. *Calila y Dimna Versión directa del árabe y presentación.* Bogata : Editorial ABC. 319 pp.

397. Shai, Donna. 1980. " A Kurdish-Jewish Animal Tale in Its Socio-cultural Context. " *Studies in Jewish Folklore.* Ed. Frank Talmage. Cambridge, Mass. : Association for Jewish Studies. pp. 297-306.

A brief discussion of the fable in the Near East and particularly among the Kurdish Jews in Israel is followed by an analysis of a Kurdish version of P605 " Fox with Many Tricks and Cat with One " (A-T 105) Shai traces the tale from the *Pañcatantra* through the European Beast Epic. Odo of Cheriton of the thirteenth century and La Fontaine. The Kurdish text is discussed in terms of the beliefs and attitudes towards animals.

398. Sinha, Rekha. 1976. " A Comparative Study of Oriental and Occidental Fable Literature." *International Congress of Orientalists, 29th, Paris . Inde Ancienne : Section Organisée par Jean Filozat.* Paris : L'Asiathēque, 6 vols. 4, 297-303.

399. Sjöberg, Lars-Plaf. 1962. *Stephanites und Ichnelates, Überlieferngsgeschichte und Text.* (Editorial material trans. Hans-Georg Richert.) (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia graeca Upsaliensia 2). Stockholm. xxxvi+264 pp.

400. Su/szkiewicz, Eugeniuz and Edmund Suszkiewicz. 1956. " Pan'czatantra." *Prezeglad oriental-istyczny* 2 [18], 171-198.

401. Smirnov, S. 1881. " Stephanites et Ichnelates." *Mémoires philologiques de Chovanski.* Ed. A. Viktorov. Moscow.

402. Solalinde, Antonio G., ed. 1917, *Calila y Dimna Fábulas : Antigua version Castellana.* Madrid : Calleja.

Based upon the edition of Allen,

403. Souby-Bey. 1903. *Fabeln und Parabeln des Orients der türkischen Sammlung " humajun name " entnommen und ins Deutsche übertragen.* Berlin. xii + 130 pp.

404. Sprenling, Martin. 1924. " Kalîla Studies, I. " *American Journal of Semitic Languages* 40 : 1, 81-97.

A successful first effort to gather manuscript materials toward the purpose of a critical edition of the *Kalilah wa Dimna* of al-Muqaffa

405. Sreenivasachariar, P. K. n.d *Pancha Thantram: Tamil Prose.* Vellore : Sri Saravati Book Depot. iv + 136 pp.

406. Stchoukine, Ivan. 1954. *La Peinture des manuscrits timurides.* Paris : Paul Geuther.

Contains numerous examples of illustrated *Kalila wa-Dimna* manuscripts.

407 Steinchneider, M. 1873. " Zu Kalila wa-Dimna. " *ZDMG* 27, 553-565.

The first part of this essay deals with Jakob ben Elasar, a previously unknown translator of the *Kalila wa-Dimna* into Hebrew during the twelfth century. The second part deals with parallels to this collection.

408. Sternbach, Ludwik. 1956. " Cāṇakya's Aphorisms in the *Hitopadeśa.* " *JAOS* 76, 115-130

Deals with Nārāyaṇa's use of the *Pañcatantra* together with his other source : Cāṇakya's compendium of aphorisms in the compilation of the *Hitopadeśa.* Discusses possible sources and the relationship of the aphorisms to the fable text, indeed suggesting that some of the aphorisms might well have orginated in the *Pañcatantra* or the *Hitopadeśa.* A number of texts are presented with full apparatus for a comparative study.

409. Sternbach, Ludwik. 1960. *The Hitopadesa and its Sources.* (=American Oriental Series, no. 44.) New Haven, CT.: American Oriental Society. xiv+109 pp.

410. Sternbach, Ludwik. 1967. " The Canakya Collection and Narayana's *Hitopadesa* : An Additional Comment." *JAOS* 87 : 3, 306-308.

411. Sternbach, Ludwik. 1971-1976. *The Kavya-portions in the Katha-Literature (Pancantantram Hitopadesa, Vikramacarita, Vetalapancovimsatika and Sukasaptati) : An Analysis.* 3 vols. Delhi : Meharchand Lachhmandas. [Volume 1 *Pañcatantra*, 2 *Hitopadeśa*].

412. Sternbach, Ludwik. 1974. *Subhasita, gnomic and didactic Literature* Wiesbaden : Otto Harrassowitz. 97 pp. [=*A History of Indian Literature* 4, pt. 1].

413. Sternbach, Ludwik. 1979. " Influence of Sanskrit Literature on the Gnomic Literature of Mongolia." *Proceedings of the III International Conference of Mongolists in Ulaan-Baatar* Ulaanbaatar. pp. 355-366.

414. Sternbach, Ludwik. 1981. " Indian Wisdom and Its Spread Beyond India." *JAOS* 101 : 1, 97-131.

415. Stewart, Charles. *An Introduction to the Anvari Soohyly of Hussein Vāiz Kāshify....Containing the Seventh Chapter of the Anvār Suhaili in Persian and English with the Arabic Version of the Same Chapter by 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mukaffa.* London.

416. Subrahmanyasastri, Vedula. 1986. *Telungulo Pancatantra campuvu.* Visakhapatnam, Andhraprades : Pratulaku, Vedula Subrahmanya Sastri.

417. Syrkin, A. Yr. 1958. *Panchatantra : Sbornik indiiskich basien.* Moscow : Gos. 371 pp.

418. Syrkin, A. Ya. 1962. *Pantschatantra ; Perevod s Sanskrita prietschanija A. J. Syrkina.* Moscow : Nauka. 468 pp.

419. Tabarrah, Ahmed Hasan. 1904. *Kalila wa Dimnah, The Fables of Bidpai, the Hindu Philosopher : Trans. from the Pehlewi by 'Abd Allah ibn al-Mukaffa.* Beirut. 343 pp.

420. Tabbara, A. N. 1904. *Kalila et Dimna : traduction arabe copiée d'après un ancien manuscrit trouvé à Damas.* Beirut. (See previous entry.)

A bowdlerized version of the *Kalia wa-dimna* translation of the *Pañcatantra.* Tabbara claims to have found a new cource in the linking of the manuscript tradition of the *Kalila wa-Dimna,* although the manuscript from which he works is a relatively late one (1675).

421. Takahashi Moritaka. 1955. " Saru no shinnzō, onshōtan kenkyū josetsu " [Monkey hearts : a preface to the Jātaka stories]. *Kansai Daigaku bungaku ronshū* [1955], 153-201.

422. Tehranchian, Hassan. 1985. *Kalilah and Dimna : Fables from the Ancient East.* Translated and adapted by H. T. NY : Harmony Books.

423. Teza, Emilio. 1881. " Dello Stephanites kai Ichnelates presso gli Slavi." *Giornale Napoletano di filosofia e lettere, scienze morali e politiche* 6, 161-171.

424. Thite, G. U. 1984. "Indian Fable." *La Fable : huit exposès suivis de discussions.* Geneva : Fondation Hart. pp. 33-60 [discussion : 54-60].

425. Thompson, Stith and J. Balys. 1958. *The Oral Tales of India.* Bloomington. Indiana : Indiana University Press.

426. Thompson, Stith and Warren E. Roberts. 1961. *Types of Indic Oral Tales: India, Pakistan and Ceylon.* (=Folklore Fellows Communications, no. 180). Helsinki : Finnish Academy of Sciences.

427. Tilley, A. 1939. "La Fontaine and Bidpai." *Modern Language Review* 34, 21-39.

Indicates the twenty or so fables from the *Pañcatantra* that La Fontaine used in his collection together with a history of the fables of Bidpai from Sanskrit to its European editions. La Fontaine's source is identified as a French translation of the Anwār-i-Śuhailī version. This translation, *Livre des Lumières*, appeared in 1644. The essay ends with a commentary on a number of fables from this tradition.

428. Tripathi, Rampratap. 1955. *Pañcatantra ki kahāniyāt.* Delhi. 30 + 364 pp.

429. Updhyaya, K. D. 1963. "The Classification and Chief Characteristics of Indian (Hindi) Folk-Tales." *Fabula* 7, 225-229.

Deals with the fables as well as other forms, and suggests that fables might be classified by content.

430. Van Riet, Simone. 1976. "Fable et sagesse antique : D'Ibn al Muqaffa à Jean de La Fontaine." *Images of Man in Ancient and Medieval Thought.* Ed. Ferdnand Frans Bossier. Louvain : Leuven University Press. pp. 249 256.

The second edition of La Fontaine's *Fables* contained many new fables, many of which descend ultimately from Indian sources and which have gone through a series of different cultures. The Bidpai fables were known to La Fontaine from a translation of the Arabic of Ibn al-Maqaffa, but there are other possible sources for these fables in seventeenth-century France, including the French translation of the *Stephanities kai Ichnelates*, which is in turn a Greek translation of the *Kalila wa-Dimna.*

431. Venkatasubbiah, A. 1926. "Pañcatantra Studies. I: Mother Sāndilī's Barter of Sesame." *Asia Maior*, 3, 307-320.

432. Venkatasubbiah, A. 1928a. "Pañcatantra Studies. II: Dustabuddhi and Dharmabuddhi" and "Pancatantra Studies. III: The Ape and the

Crocodile." *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 4, 1-26.

433. Venkatasubbiah, A. 1928b. "The Panchatantra of Durgasimha," *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 6, 255-318.

Summarizes the Kannada Pañcatantra of Durgasimha (A.D. 1031) on the basis of S. G. Narasimhachar and M. A. Ramanuja Iyengar's Karnataka-kāvya-mañjarī edition (Mysore, 1898).

434. Venkatasubbiah, A. 1929a. "The Kannada Pañcatantra," *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 6, 255-318.

Describes with summary the contents of the Kannada Pañcatantra of Durgasimha.

435. Venkatasubbiah, A. 1929b. "Pañcatantra Studies. IV : The Brahman and the Rogues." *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 5, 1-10.

436. Venkatasubbiah, A. 1931. "Two Tantri Stories." *Indian Historical Quarterly* 7, 518-522.

437. Venkatasubbiah, A 1932. "Pañcatantra of Durgasimha." *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 6, 255-318 and 7, 8-32. (see next entry).

438. Venkatasubbiah, A. 1933. "On the Reconstruction of the Pañcatantra." *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, 228 ff.

439. Venkatasubbiah, A. 1934a. "The Pañcatantra of Vasubhāga." *Indian Historical Quarterly* 10, 104-111.

Among much else, postulates a Sanskrit work resembling the *Pañcatantra* of Visnuśarmā on the basis of translations and adaptions into Javanese, Lao and Thai. These latter materials ascribe the moralizing portions to Vasubhāga.

440 Venkatasubbiah, A. 1934b. "Pañcatantra Studies. V : "King Kacadruma." and VI : "The Original Form of Some Pancatantra Verses." *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* [Poona] 15, 39-66.

V : A comprative study of the "King Kacadruma" (Kacuddruma) story found in all the versions derived from Vasubhāga's recension of the *Pañcatantra*, preceded by the "Blue Jackel" story known from the Jatakas, suggesting that the story is made up from two versions. VI : Questions, some of the reconstructions in Sanskrit made by Hertel and Edgerton, and offers a series of emendations.

441. Venkatasubbiah, A. 1937. "The Cāṇakya-niti-sastra and the Tantri." *Indian Historical Quarterly* 13, 506-513.

442. Venkatasubbiah, A. 1965. "A Tamil Version of the Pañcatantra." *ALB* 29 : 1-4, 74-143.

Begins with a description of an incomplete Tamil manuscript containing the Kathāmukha, the first section called the *Nandakaprakāṇḍa*, and a portion of the second section, the *Mandūka-prakānda*. The original contained some 50 palm leaves, and adjudgerd to be some 200-300 years old. Contains a synopsis of the stories.

443. Venkatasubbiah, A. 1967. "A Javanese Version of the Pañcatantra." *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* [Poona] 57, 59-100.

444. Vidyabhushana, Upendra Nath. 1910. *Panchatantram of Vishnusarman, with Footnotes and an Introduction in English.* Calcutta : Upendra Yamar Mitre. xvi + 335. pp.

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447. Vladislav, Jan and W. B. Forman; German version by Bedrich Schick. 1959. *Lichter des Kanopus : Dreiunddreissig Fabeln aus dem Morgenland, aus den Sammlungen der Kaiserlichen Bibliothek zu Tehran.* Prague.

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449. Van der Waals, H. G., trans. 1884. *Panchatantra.* Leiden. 151 pp. Dutch translation.

450. Waley, P. and Norah M. Titley. 1975. "An Illustrated Persian Text of Kalila and Dimna Dated 707/1307-1308." *The British Library Journal* 1 : 1, 42-61.

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451. Wegener, Hans, ed. 1926. *Das Buch der Beispiele alter Weisen.* Berlin : Volksverband der Bucherfreude. 155 pp.

452. Wikander, Stig. 1964. "Frān indisk djurfabel till islānsk saga." *Arsbok* [Vetenskaps societeten i Lund]. 87-114.

From faint traces in Saxo Grammaticus and in the *Gautreks. Saga* in Iceland, Wikander postulates an Arabic fable from the *Kalila wa-Dimna* which would have traveled northward from the south through the medium of 12th century humanism. especially that of the French Coast Humanism. Baldo's *Novus Aesopus*, the Latin paraphrase of the *Kalila wa-Dimna*, is the most likely immediate transmitter.

453. Wilkinson, James V. S. 1929. *The Lights of Canopus : Anvār i Suhailī.* London: The Studio. 50 pp.

Description of Add. 18.579 in the British Museum with a precis of the fables in an historical overview. Fourteen miniature illustrations accompany the stories in this Mongol manuscript.

454. Williams, Alfred, trans. *Tales from the Panchatantra*. Illustrated by Peggy Whistler. Introductory Note by A. A. McDonell. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Reprint 1970 : University Microfilms. xvi + 207 pp. [Shorter version 193 " Selected for Schools "; vii + 87 pp. Also 1951 in Swahili, viii + 85 pp; 1951 in Ngauja; and 1954 in Tonga : *Zysano zyaku India*, 10 pp. All : London : MacMillan.]

455. Williams, Ronald J. 1956a. " The Literary History of a Mesopotamian Fable. " *The Phoenix* 10, 70-77.

P I " Eagle and Fox " (TMI K 2295, L 315.3) is traced from the Akkadian legend of Etana (preserved in three recensions : Old Babylonian, Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian) through Archilochus, the Aesop tradition, Aristophanes, Phaedrus, Babrius and the *Panchatantra*, as well as through Syriac versions, medieval and Armenian Greek forms, and finally in the Old French of Marie de France and the Hebrew of the *Mishle Sh'alim.*

456. Williams, Ronald J. 1956b. " The Fable in the Ancient Near East." *A Stubborn Faith Papers on Old Testament and Related Subjects Presented to Honor W. A. Irwin.* Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press. pp. 3-26.

Demonstrates that the fable with both animal and plant actors can be placed at least one thousand years earlier than Aesop (roughly sixth century B C) and much earlier than the Indian fables as found in the *Pañcatantra*, which Williams dates to approximately the fourth century A.D.

457 Winfred S. et al. 1873 [3rd edition 1901]. *Pancha Tantra : Translated from the Tamil.* With a Preface by J. Murdoch. Madras: Christian Literature Society for India. 199 pp

458. Wolf, Phillip trans. 1839. *Das Buch der Weisen in Lust-und lehrreichen*

Erzählungen des indischen Philosophen Bidpai Stuttgart: J. Scheible. 2 vols in 1.

459. Wollaston, Arthur N. 1909. *Tales Within Tales Adapted from the Fables of Bidpai* (Romance of the East Series). London: John Murray. xvi+118 pp.

Translation of the Persian version by Husain Vā'iz Kāshifī. See Wright 1884, Rehmann 1917, Sayani 1923.

460. Wollaston, Arthur N. 1925. *The Anwar-e-Suhaili, Translated from the Persian.* Revised by H. I. Sayani. Bombay: Homee Sorab & Co.

461. Wright William. 1874. "A Specimen of a Syriac Version of the *Kalila wa-Dimna,*" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain*, N. S. Volume 7, part 1

462. Wright, William. 1884. *The Book of Kalīlah and Dimnah: Translated from Arabic into Syriac.* Oxford.

The New Syriac text. (See Keith-Falconer 1885 for English translation of this text.)

463. Yousofi, Gholam Hosein. 1978. "Kāshifī, kamāl al-dīn Husayn b. 'Ali." *The Encyclopedia of Islam* 4, 704-705.

Surveys the life and writings of Kashifi, surnamed al-Wa'iz ("the preacher"). best known in the West for his translation of the Kalila wa-Dimna into Persian, the Anwār-i-Suhaylī.

464. Zielinski, Theo. 1889. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 44. 156-157. A note on P50 "Weasel and Aphrodite," which is to be traced to the *Pañcatantra.* Zielinski queries the use of the weasel and suggests that a near pun helped in the choice of animal actor.

465. Zoppi, Giovanni Battista 190[illegible]. *La Morale della favole: Tempi antichi e medioevo.* Milan: L. F. Cogliati 264 pp.

Discusses the idea of ' fable," and its relationship to allegory as an introduction to the idea of didactic literature. The "oriental" fable is outlined, leading to a discussion of the Aesopic type treated historically. The limits of the fables from India, Greece and Rome are contrasted. Concludes that the morals in the fables are not always consistent with the society in which they are found.

466. Zotenberg, M. H.: 1886. "Version du livre de Kalila et Dimna," *Journal Asiatique* 7: 117-118.

Description of sixteen *Kalila wa-Dimna* manuscripts in the BN.

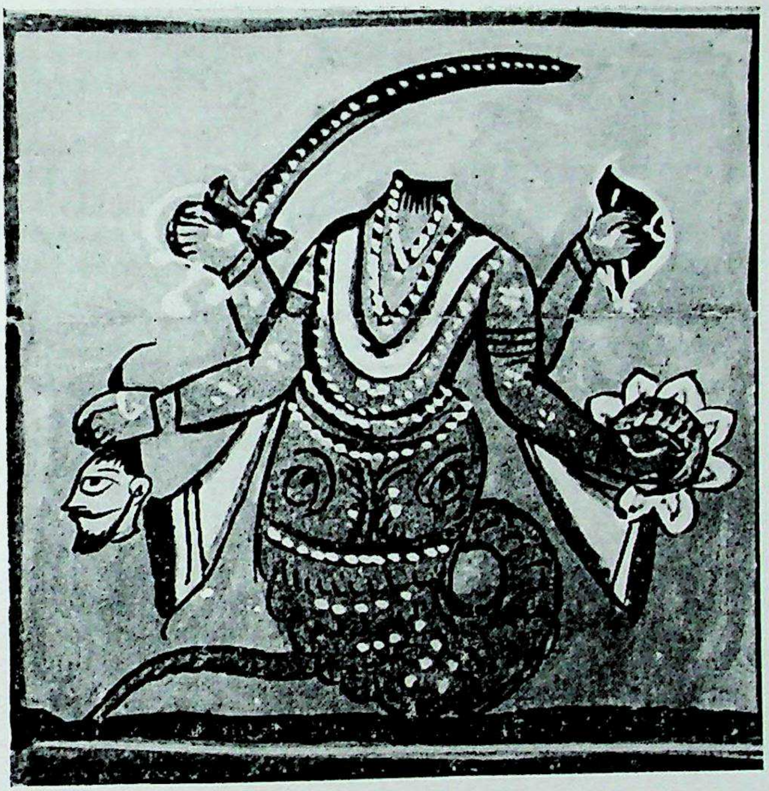

Fig. 3
Ketu
(Refer to Stephan Hillyer Levitt's Article)

Regd. No. 15007/57

(Refer to Stephan Hillyer Levitt's Article)

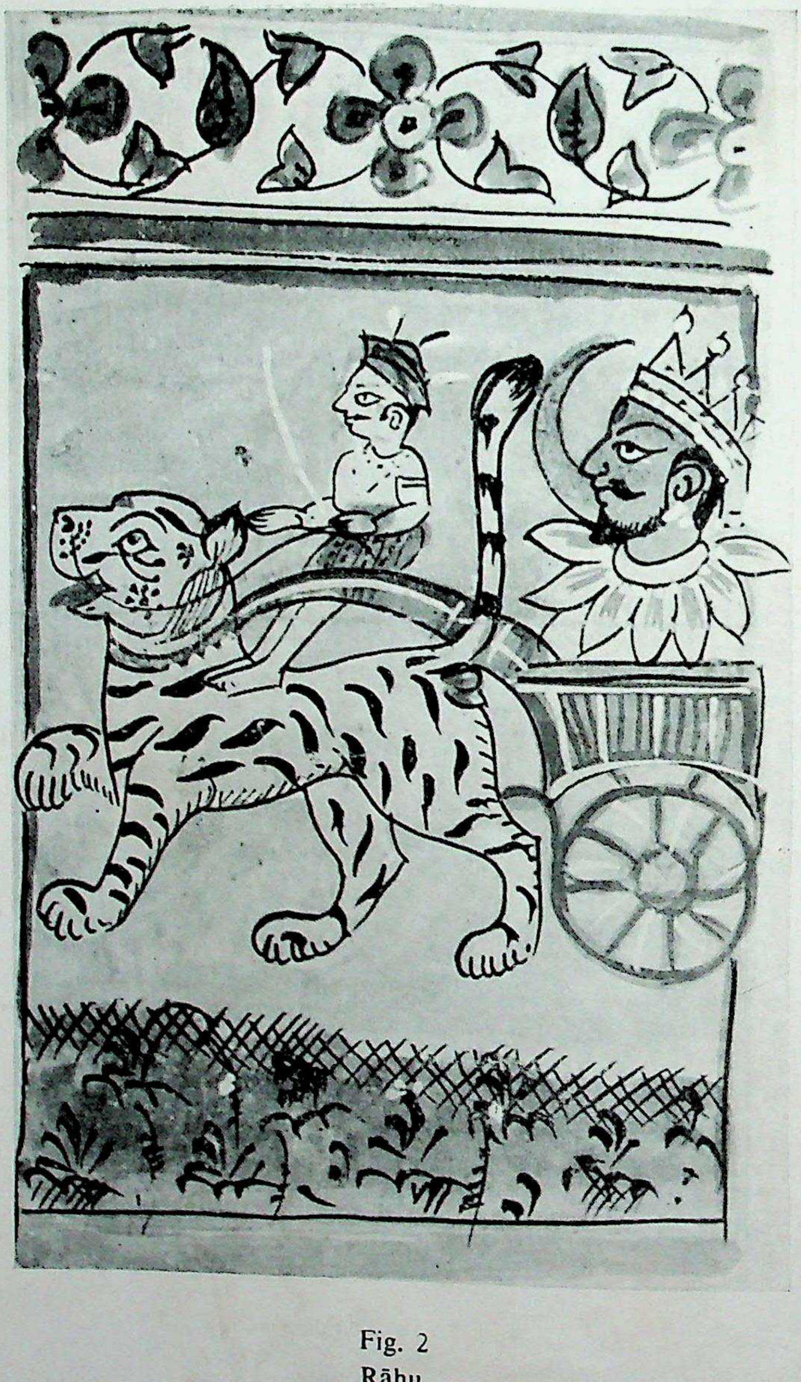

Fig. 2
Rāhu

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